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THE
LETTERS
OF
MARCUS TULLIUS CICERO
TO
SEVERAL OF HIS FRIENDS.

WITH REMARKS

BY
WILLIAM MELMOTH, ESQ.

IN THREE VOLUMES.

.....Quo fit ut omnis
Votiva pateat veluti descripta tabella
Vita senis. *Hor.*

THE SIXTH EDITION.

To which is now added

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LETTERS
OF
MARCUS TULLIUS CICERO
TO
SEVERAL OF HIS FRIENDS.

BOOK VI.

LETTER I.

[A. U. 703.]

TO APPIUS PULCHER.

WHEN I first received an account of the ill-judged prosecution which has been commenced against you¹, it gave me great concern: and, indeed, nothing could possibly have happened that I less expected. But as soon as I had recovered from my surprise, I was well satisfied that you will easily disappoint the malice of your enemies: for I have the highest confidence in your own judicious conduct on this occasion, as well as a very great one in that of your friends.

¹ See rem. 4. p. 437. vol. 1.

friends. I see many reasons, indeed, to believe, that the envy of your adversaries will only brighten ~~that~~ character ~~they~~ mean to sully: though I cannot but regret that they should have thus snatched from you an honour you so justly merit, and of which you had so well-grounded an assurance; the honour, I mean, of a triumph^a. However, you will shew your judgment, if you should consider this pompous distinction in the light it has ever appeared to my own view; and, at the same time, enjoy a triumph of the completest kind in the confusion and disappointment of your enemies: as I am well convinced that the vigorous and prudent exertion of your power and influence will give them abundant reason to repent of their violent proceedings. As for myself, be well assured (and I call every god to witness the sincerity of what I promise) that I will exert my utmost interest in support, I will not say of your person, which I hope is in no danger, but of your dignities and honour. To this end, I shall employ my best good offices for you in this province, where you once presided: and employ them with all the warmth of an intercessor, with all the assiduity of a relation, with all the influence of a man who, I trust, is dear to these cities, and with all the authority of one who is invested

^a See rem. 3. p. 371. vol. 1.

invested with the supreme command. In a word, I hope you will both ask and expect of me, every service in my power: and believe me, I shall give you greater proofs of my affection than you are disposed, perhaps, to imagine. Notwithstanding therefore that the letter I received from you by the hands of Quintus Servilius was extremely short, yet I could not but think it much too long: for it was doing an injury to the sentiments of my heart, to suppose you had any occasion to solicit my assistance. I am sorry you should have an opportunity of experiencing, by an incident so little agreeable to you, the rank you bear in my affection, the esteem which I entertain for Pompey, whom I justly value indeed above all men, and the measure of my unfeigned regard for Brutus: circumstances, I should hope, of which our daily intercourse had rendered you sufficiently sensible. However, since it has so happened, I should think that I acted a most unworthy, not to say a criminal part, if I were to omit any article wherein my services can avail you.

Pontinius remembers the singular instances of friendship he has received from you, and of which I myself was a witness³, with all the gratitude
and

³ Pontinius was prætor in the consulate of Cicero, and at this time one of his lieutenants in the province. He distinguished himself in the affair of Catiline: and having quelled the insurrection of the Allobroges, who took up arms on that occasion, he demanded a triumph. But he met with so

and affection to which you have so undoubted a right. The urgency of his affairs had obliged him, though with great reluctance, to leave me. Nevertheless, having been informed just as he was going to embark at Ephesus, that his presence in this province might be of advantage to your cause⁴, he immediately returned back to Laodicea. I am persuaded you will meet with numberless such instances of zeal upon this occasion: can I doubt then that this troublesome affair will prove, in the conclusion, greatly to your credit?

If you should be able to bring on an election of censors⁵, and should exercise that office in the manner you certainly ought, and for which
you

strong an opposition to this claim, and particularly from Cato, that it was four years before his petition was granted. Appius was at that time consul; by whose interest it chiefly was, that Pontinius at length succeeded: and it is to this circumstance that Cicero seems to allude. *Liv. Epit.* 103. *Dio. xl. Ad Att.* iv. 16.

⁴ See rem. 6. p. 437. vol. 1.

⁵ The office of censor was the most honourable post in the Roman republic; though its authority was not so considerable as that of the consul. The two principal branches of his duty consisted in taking a general survey of the people, in order to range them in their proper classes; and in watching over the public manners. Appius, together with Piso, whose daughter Cæsar had married, were chosen censors soon after the date of this letter: and they were the last (as Dr. Middleton observes) "who bore that office during the freedom of the republic." If the republic, indeed, could with any propriety be said to have enjoyed freedom at this period, when all was faction and misrule. *Rosin. de Antiq. Rom.* 699. *Life of Tully*, ii. 210. 8vo. ed. See rem. 4. and the passage to which it refers, p. 68. of this vol.

you are so perfectly well qualified ; you can never want that authority in the republic, which will afford, at once, a protection both to yourself and your friends. Let me entreat, therefore, your most strenuous endeavours to prevent my administration from being prolonged : that, after having filled up the measure of my affectionate services to you here, I may have the satisfaction also of presenting them to you at Rome.

I read, with pleasure, though by no means with surprise, the account you gave me of that general zeal which all orders and degrees of men have shewn in your cause : a circumstance, of which I had likewise been informed by my other friends. It affords me great satisfaction to find, that a man with whom I have the honour and pleasure to be so intimately united, is thus distinguished with that universal approbation he justly deserves. But I rejoice in this upon another consideration likewise ; as it is a proof that there still remains a general disposition in Rome to support the cause of illustrious merit : a disposition which I have myself also experienced upon every occasion, as the honourable recompence of my pains and vigils in the public service. But I am astonished that Dolabella, a young man whom I formerly rescued with the utmost difficulty from the consequences of two capital impeachments, should so ungratefully

forget the patron to whom he owes all that he enjoys, as to be the author of this ill-considered prosecution of my friend. And what aggravates the folly of his conduct is, that he should thus venture to attack a man who is distinguished with the highest honours, and supported by the most powerful friendships; at the same time, that he himself (to speak of him in the softest terms) is greatly deficient in both these respects. I had received an account from our friend Cælius before your letter reached my hand, of the idle and ridiculous report he has propagated: and on which you so largely expatiate. There is so little ground, however, for what he asserts, that be assured, I would much sooner break off all former friendship with a man who had thus declared himself your enemy, than he prevailed upon to engage with him in any new connexions⁶.

You

⁶ Nothing could be more distant from Cicero's heart than what he here pretends. For there is the strongest evidence to believe, that it was his fixed intention, at this very time, to enter into an alliance with Dolabella: and, in fact, Tullia was married to him soon after the date of this letter. Cicero affirms, I must acknowledge, in an epistle to Atticus, what he likewise asserts in a subsequent one to Appian, "that this transaction was entirely without his knowledge:" but he seems to have dealt as insincerely upon this occasion with his bosom friend, as he too frequently did with all the world besides. Accordingly, he assures Atticus, he so little expected the news of his daughter's match, that he was actually in treaty for the disposal of her to another person. But if the latter part of this assertion were true, it aggravates his dissimulation: as the former most evidently was not. For not to mention the great probability there is, that he left a commission

You have not the least reason to doubt of my zeal to serve you : of which I have given many conspicuous testimonies in this province, as well as at Rome. Your letter, nevertheless, intimates some sort of suspicion of the contrary. It would be improper at this juncture to reproach you with indulging

mission with Cœlius when he set out for the province, relating to the marriage in question, [see let. 5. p. 437. vol. 1.] it appears that he had received more than one letter from him upon this subject, before he wrote the last mentioned to Atticus : and, consequently, that he could not have been so much a stranger to the affair as he chose to represent himself. Cicero's answer to the letter of Cœlius concerning this treaty with Dolabella, is extant : and it cannot be dated later than the beginning of May in the present year ; because he mentions the seventh of that month as a future day, on which he proposed to return from another part of his province into Cilicia. But the letter to Atticus must have been written in the latter end of the same year, because he takes notice in it of the death of Hortensius. Now he was not informed of that event till he came to Rhodes, in his voyage from Cilicia : as he himself tells us, in the introduction of his oratorical treatise inscribed to Brutus. If Cicero then was capable of thus disguising the truth concerning Dolabella, to the nearest and most valuable of his friends ; it is no wonder he should not scruple to act a still more counterfeit part in all that he says of him to Appius. And this dissimulation he very freely acknowledges to Cœlius ; who, indeed, was in the whole secret of the affair : as it was by his intervention that it seems to have been principally conducted. Accordingly, Cicero taking notice to Cœlius of the letter now before us, which he tells him was written in consequence of the information he had received from him, in the 5th of the foregoing book ; he expresses himself in the following remarkable words : *Quid si meam* (sc. epistolam) *legas, quam ego tunc in tuis literis misi ad Appium ? sed quid agas ? sic vivitur* : which in plain English amounts to this, that if a man would be well with the world, he must submit to the lowest and most contemptible hypocrisy. And it must be owned that Cicero, in the present instance, as well as in most others, acted up to the full extent of his maxim. *Ad Att. vi. 6. Ep. Fam. viii. 6. De clar. orator. 1. Ep. Fam. ii. 15.*

indulging so injurious a thought: but it is necessary I should convince you, that it is altogether without foundation. Tell me then, wherein did I obstruct the deputation which was intended to be sent to Rome with the complimentary addresses to you of this province? Had I been your avowed enemy, I could not have indulged my spleen by a more important piece of malice; and most certainly, if I had meant to act with a disguised malevolence, I could not have chosen an occasion that would have rendered my sentiments more notorious. Were I as perfidious as the authors of these unjust insinuations, yet surely I should not have been so weak either to discover my enmity where I designed to conceal it, or to shew a strong inclination of injuring you by instances utterly ineffectual. I remember, indeed, that some complaints were made to me, concerning the excessive appointments allowed to the deputies from this province. In answer to which, I rather advised than directed that all expences of this kind should be regulated by the Cornelian law⁷. But far was I from insisting even upon this: as may appear by the public records of the several cities. For when they afterwards passed their accounts before me,

I suffered

⁷ This law was enacted, it is probable, in order to restrain the immoderate sums which were expended in these complimentary deputations. *Manutius*.

I suffered them to charge to the article of their deputations, whatever sum they thought proper. Yet what falshoods have not these worthless informers imposed upon you? They have affirmed, it seems, not only that I absolutely prohibited all expences of this kind, but even obliged the agents of those deputies, who were actually set forward in their way to Rome, to refund the appointments that were lodged in their hands, and by these means discouraged several others from undertaking the same commission. I might here, with great justice, complain of your giving credit to these calumnies: but I forbear, as I said before, in tenderness to your present disquietude, thinking it more proper, at this season, to vindicate my own conduct than to reproach yours. I will only, therefore, remind you of a few reasons that ought to have secured me against suffering in your opinion from these groundless imputations. If ever then you experienced the probity of my heart, or observed a disposition in me worthy of those sublime contemplations to which I have devoted myself from my earliest youth; if ever you discovered by my conduct, in the most important transactions, that I was neither void of spirit, nor destitute of abilities, you ought to have believed me incapable of acting a low and little part towards my friends, much more a base and a treacherous one. But if artifice be the character

3 after

after all, in which I must needs be represented, could any thing, let me ask, be less consistent with such a temper, than either to slight the friendship of a man of your high rank and credit, or to oppose your glory in an obscure and remote province, after having openly supported it in view of the whole world at Rome? Can any thing have less the appearance of artifice than to discover an impotent malevolence, and betray to very little purpose a strong propensity of doing an injury. But what possible motive could induce me to cherish so implacable a spirit toward you, who was far from shewing yourself my enemy (and I speak it upon the information of my own brother) even at a time when you were almost under an indispensable obligation of appearing so³? And after our reconciliation had been effected agreeably to our mutual desires for that purpose, did you once, throughout the whole period of your consulate, make a single request to me in vain? or which of the commands that you left with me when I attended you to Puteolæ⁹, did I not execute with a zeal and assiduity even

³ This alludes to the services which Cicero received from Appius in his recall from banishment. "For Appius (as Mr. Ross observes) was at that time prætor: and though he, at first, supported his brother Clodius, and opposed the repeal of his law, yet he afterwards deserted him, and joined with the friends of Cicero." *Cic. pro Rom.* 33.

⁹ A maritime city in Campania, in the kingdom of Naples, now called Pozzuoli. When the proconsuls set out for their governments,

even beyond your expectations ! But were I really the artful man I am represented, and if it be the characteristic of that disposition to act entirely with a view to interest, nothing surely could be more conducive to mine, than the friendship of one, from whose rank and abilities, from whose power, family, and alliances, I might hope to derive the highest honours and advantages : considerations, I will own, that rendered me ambitious of your friendship, not from any low unworthy cunning, but from those principles of prudence which Wisdom will surely justify. But these were not the only considerations that attached me to your interest : I was drawn by others of an higher and more prevailing influence with me : by a similitude of taste and studies, by the pleasing habitudes of familiar intercourse, and by the same common researches into the most concealed and unfrequented paths of philosophy. To these inducements of a private kind, I may add those of a more popular and public nature. For after having rendered our mutual reconcilment conspicuous to the whole world, I could not even undesignedly act counter to your interest, without incurring a suspicion of my sincerity. Let me mention also those obligations which result from my being associated

governments, they were usually escorted by their friends to some distance from Rome.

associated with you in the college of augurs : obligations which our ancestors esteemed of so sacred a nature, that they not only held it impious to violate them, but would not even suffer a candidate to be elected into this society, who was known to be at variance with any of its members. But abstractedly from these numerous and powerful motives, there is *one*, which of itself might be sufficient to evince the disposition in which I stand towards you : for tell me, did ever any man possess, or had reason to possess, so high an esteem for another, as that which you know I entertain for the illustrious¹⁰ father-in-law of your daughter? If personal obligations, indeed, can give him a title to these sentiments, do I not owe to Pompey the enjoyment of my country, my family, my dignities, and even my very self*? If
friendship

¹⁰ Pompey.

* Cicero by no means thought himself so much obliged to Pompey as he here pretends : and all these extravagant professions were a mere artifice (and a thin one it must be owned) to make Pompey believe that he had forgotten the ill usage he had formerly received from him. *Vid. Ad Att. ix. 13.* The truth of it is, Cicero had just the same sort of obligation to Pompey for the enjoyments he mentions, as he would have had to a highwayman, who, after having taken his purse, should have restored it again : for if Pompey had not acted a treacherous and dishonest part in the affair of Clodius, to which our author here alludes, Cicero would never have been deprived of his country, his family, and his dignities. But if Pompey restored him to *these*, he could not restore him to himself : for, as the elegant Mongault, in his remarks on the epistles to Atticus, justly observes, if he rose after his fall, he always appeared, however, to be somewhat stunned by the blow.

friendship may be supposed to have any effect, is there an instance amongst all our consulars, of a more intimate union than his and mine? If confidence can create affection, what has he not committed to my care, or communicated to my secrecy? Whenever he was absent from Rome, was there any other man whom he preferred to be the advocate of his interest in the senate? And what honour is there which he has not endeavoured to confer upon me, in the most distinguished manner? In fine, with how much temper did he suffer my zeal in the cause of Milo, notwithstanding the latter had upon some occasions joined in the opposition to his measures? And how generously did he protect me by his counsel, his authority, and even his arms, from the insults and the dangers to which I exposed myself in that defence?

" If Dion Cassius may be credited in what he relates concerning the circumstances which attended Milo's trial, Cicero had as little reason to acknowledge his obligations to Pompey in the present instance, as in that mentioned in the preceding remark. For Pompey being apprehensive that Milo's party might attempt some violent measures in order to obstruct the course of justice, surrounded the court with his troops, which so intimidated Cicero, that it utterly disconcerted his eloquence, and he made a very languid defence of his friend. Accordingly the oration which Cicero published, and which is still extant, was not spoken, as Dion assures us, at the trial, but was the after-produce of his more composed thoughts. But whether the historian's assertion is to be corrected by Cicero, or Cicero's to be discredited by the historian, is a point I shall not venture to decide. Though I must in justice add, that Asconius, a much earlier writer than Dion Cassius, and one who was a greater admirer of Cicero, accounts in a different manner for the disorder which seized the Roman orator

fence? And I cannot but here observe, that far from being disposed, as you have shewn yourself in this affair of the deputies, to listen to the little idle tales that might be propagated to my disadvantage by any paltry provincial, he nobly scorned to give attention to the malicious reports, which were dealt about to my prejudice by the most considerable persons in Rome¹². Upon the whole then, as you are united, not only by alliance, but by affection, to my illustrious friend, what are the sentiments, do you imagine, that I ought to bear towards you? The truth of it is, were I your professed enemy, as I am most sincerely the reverse, yet after the letter which I lately received from Pompey, I should think myself obliged to sacrifice my resentment to his request, and be wholly governed by the inclinations of a man to whom I am thus greatly indebted. But I have said enough, and perhaps more than was necessary, upon this subject: let me now therefore give you a detail both of what I have effected, and am still attempting for your interest¹³. * * *

* * * * *

This

for upon this occasion. For he ascribes it to the clamours with which he was insulted by the party against Milo, when he rose up to speak in his defence. *Dion. xl. p. 145, 146. Ascon. argument. in Milon.*

¹² Milo was suspected, or at least his adversaries pretended to suspect him, of having a design against Pompey's life: and perhaps Cicero's enemies endeavoured to persuade Pompey, that our author was privy to that design. *Orat. pro Milon. 24.*

¹³ The particular instances of Cicero's services to Appius are

This, my friend, is what I have performed, or am endeavouring to perform, in support of your character, I will rather say, than in defence of your person. But I expect every day to hear that you are chosen censor: the duties of which office, as they require the highest fortitude and abilities to execute, so, I am sure, they far better deserve your attention than any services I am capable of rendering to you in this province. Farewel.

LETTER II.

[A. U. 703.]

TO PAPIRIUS PÆTUS¹.

YOUR letter has rendered me a most complete general. I protest I did not imagine you were so wonderfully skilled in the art military. But I perceive you are an absolute adept, and deeply studied in the tactics of king Pyrrhus² and his minister Cineas. I have some thoughts, therefore,

are omitted in the original: and, probably, were so by the first editor of these letters, as not being thought proper, perhaps, for public inspection.

¹ Lucius Papirius Pætus appears to have been a person of great wit and humour, and in close friendship with Cicero. "He was an Epicurean: and in pursuance of the plan of life recommended by the principles of that sect, seems to have sacrificed his ambition to his ease. He had sent some military instructions by way of raillery to Cicero: who returns an answer to this letter in the same jocose manner." *Mr. Ross.*

² Pyrrhus, king of Epirus, who flourished about 300 years before the date of this letter, was esteemed by the ancients, as one of the greatest soldiers that ever appeared in the world. His whole thoughts and application were turned

therefore, of following your most curious precepts : and, indeed, of improving upon them. For as I am assured that the best armament against the Parthian cavalry is a good fleet, I am designing to equip myself accordingly. Seriously, you cannot imagine what an expert commander you have undertaken to tutor : for after having worn out Xenophon's life of Cyrus, with reading it at Rome, I have now fairly *practised it out* in the province.—But I hope soon to joke with you in person. In the mean time, attend with submission due to my high behests. You are not ignorant, I suppose, of the particular intimacy that subsists between Marcus Fabius and myself. I value him, indeed, extremely, not only for the singular integrity and modesty of his heart, but as he is a most excellent second to me in those contests wherein I am sometimes engaged with certain jovial Epicurean companions of yours. He lately joined me at Laodicea ; where I am very desirous of detaining him : but he received an unexpected letter, which has given him great uneasiness. The purport of it is, that his brother has advertised his intentions of selling an estate

to the art of war : upon which subject he published some treatises, that were extant in Plutarch's time. Cineas was one of the generals who commanded under this heroic prince : and who, as it should seem from this passage, had likewise distinguished himself by his military writings. *Plut. in vit. Pyrrhi.*

estate at Herculaneum³, in which they are both equally interested. This news exceedingly alarms my friend, and as his brother's understanding is not extremely strong, he is inclined to think he has been instigated by some of their common enemies, to take this very extraordinary measure. Let me then entreat you, my dear Pætus, if you have any friendship for me, to ease Fabius of the trouble of this affair, by receiving the whole burthen of it upon yourself. We shall have occasion for your authority, your advice, and your interest: and I hope you will exert them all, in order to prevent these two brothers from the disgrace of appearing as adversaries in a court of justice. I must not forget to tell you, that the persons whom Fabius suspects to be the malicious authors of this advice to his brother, are Mato and Pollio. To say all in one word, I shall think myself inexpressibly obliged, if you ease my friend of this troublesome affair; a favour, he persuades me, entirely in your power. Farewel.

LETTER

³ The famous city near Naples, which was swallowed up by an earthquake in the reign of Vespasian; and which is now furnishing the literary world with so many invaluable treasures of antiquity.

LETTER III.

[A. U. 708.]

To CÆLIUS CALDUS⁴, Quæstor elect.

WHEN I received the very acceptable news of your being elected my quæstor, I was well persuaded, that the longer you continued with me in this province, the more I should have occasion to be satisfied with that choice. It is of importance to the public relation, which has thus arisen between us, that it should be improved by a nearer intercourse. But, having received no account either from yourself or any other of my friends, of your being set forward on your way hither, I began to be apprehensive (what I still fear) that I should leave this province before your arrival. I was favoured, 'tis true, with a most obliging and polite letter from you, on the 22d of June, whilst I was encamped in Cilicia; and it afforded me a very
pleasing

⁴ He was a young man of a noble family, and this seems to have been the whole of his merit. For, notwithstanding Cicero addresses him in this letter, as one of whose talents and virtues he had conceived a favourable opinion, it is certain his real sentiments of him were far different. This appears from an epistle to Atticus, where both the morals and understanding of Caldus are mentioned in terms greatly to his disadvantage. *Nos provinciæ præficimus Calium: puerum iniquies, & fortasse fatuum, & non gravem, & non continentem. Assentior: fieri non potuit aliter.* Ad Att. vi. 6. See the 13th letter of this book.

pleasing instance both of your abilities and friendly disposition. But it was without any date, nor did it mention when I might expect you. The person, likewise, that delivered it, not having received it immediately from your own hands, could give me no information either when, or from what place it was written. Nevertheless, I thought proper to dispatch my couriers and lictors with this express; and if it reaches you time enough, you will greatly oblige me by meeting me in Cilicia as soon as possible.

The strong letters I received in your behalf, from your relations, Curius and Virgilius, had all the influence which is due to the recommendations of such very intimate and very worthy friends; but your own letter had still a greater. Believe me, there is no man whom I should have rather wished for my quæstor; and I shall endeavour to shew the world, by distinguishing you with every honour in my power, that I pay all the regard which is so justly due to your own personal merit, as well as to that of your illustrious ancestors. But this I shall the more easily be enabled to effect, if you should meet me in Cilicia; a circumstance in which not only the public interest and mine, but particularly your own, is, I think, nearly concerned. Farewel.

LETTER IV.

[A. U. 703.]

TO MARCUS CÆLIUS, Curule-Ædile.

I AM extremely anxious concerning affairs at Rome, as I hear there have been great disturbances in the general assemblies of the people⁵, and that the festival of Minerva⁶ was celebrated in a most riotous manner. But my intelligence goes no lower than that period, and I am altogether uninformed of any thing which has since passed. Yet nothing mortifies me more than being prevented the pleasure of laughing with you at several ridiculous incidents which attended, I am told, these public tumults; but they are of such a delicate nature, that I dare not mention them in a letter. I am a good deal uneasy, likewise, at not having received any account of these commotions from yourself. For which reason, notwithstanding I shall be set out for Italy before this reaches your hand, yet
I hope

⁵ Manutius conjectures that this alludes to the disturbances which some of the tribunes occasioned at Rome, in opposing the attempts of the Pompeian party to divest Cæsar of his government in Gaul. At the head of these tribunes, Curio, who had lately changed sides, now chose to distinguish himself. *Vid. Ad Att. vi. 2.*

⁶ This festival was celebrated on the 19th of March, and continued five days.

I hope I shall meet a letter from you upon the road, that I may not arrive an utter stranger to the state of public affairs; as I am sure no man is more capable of instructing me concerning them than yourself.

Your agent, the worthy Diogenes, together with your freed-man Philo^a, parted from me at Pessinus⁷, in order to proceed on their journey to the king of⁸ Galatia; though, with little hopes of succeeding at a court neither very able nor very willing to comply with the purposes of their embassy.

Rome, my friend, Rome alone, is the object that merits your attention; and may you ever live within the splendour of that illustrious scene! All foreign employments (and it was my sentiments from my first entrance into the world) are below the ambition of those who have talents to distinguish themselves on that more conspicuous theatre. And would to God, as I was ever well convinced of this truth, that I had always acted accordingly! Be assured the pleasure of a single walk with you, would afford

^a Coelius mentions these persons in a former letter, as being employed by him to execute some commission in this part of the world; but the nature of the business with which they were charged, does not appear. *Vid. Ep. Fam. viii. 8.*

⁷ A city in Phrygia, within the jurisdiction of Cicero's government.

⁸ Deiotarus.

afford me more satisfaction than all the advantages I can derive from my government. I hope, indeed, I shall receive the applause of having conducted myself, throughout my administration, with an untainted integrity; however, I should have merited as much honour by refusing the government of this province, as by having thus preserved it from the hands of our enemies. "But where then," you will ask, perhaps, "had been the hopes of a triumph?" Believe me, I should have deemed that loss well compensated, by escaping so long and so tedious a separation from all that I hold most valuable. But I hope I shall now soon be with you. In the mean time, let me meet a letter from you, worthy of your political penetration⁹. Farewel.

LETTER

* In the original it is only said, *mihî mitte epistolas te dignas*. But it seems evident what Cicero had in his thoughts, by a passage a little higher in this letter: *obviæ mihî velim sint litteræ tuæ, quæ me erudiant de omni republica*. And our author frequently speaks of Cælius as one of that sort of discerning politicians, who, in the language of Shakespeare,

— can look into the seeds of time,
And say which grain will grow, and which will not.

MACBETH.

LETTER V.

[A. U. 703.]

TO APPIUS PULCHER.

WHILST I lay encamped on the banks of the Pyramus¹, I received two letters from you, and both at the same time, which Quintus Servilius forwarded to me from Tarsus. One of them was dated on the 5th of April, but the other, which seemed to have been written later, was without any date. I will answer the former, therefore, in the first place, wherein you give me an account of your having been acquitted of the impeachment exhibited against you for mal-administration in this province. I had before been apprised of many circumstances of this event by various letters and expresses, as well as by general report; as, indeed, there never was any occurrence more particularly known. Not that it was in the least unexpected, but because the world is usually very minute in its accounts of all that concerns the honour of so distinguished a character. But, notwithstanding your letter was thus in some measure anticipated, yet it heightened my satisfaction to receive the same good news from your own hand. My information was by this means not only more full than what I had learnt

¹ A river in Cilicia.

learnt from common fame, but it brought you nearer to my imagination, and rendered you in some sort present to those sentiments of joy which arose upon this occasion in my heart. Accordingly, I embraced you in my thoughts, and kissed the letter that gave me so much reason to rejoice, upon my own account, as well as upon yours. I say upon my own account, because I look upon those honours which are thus paid by the general voice of my country, to virtue, industry, and genius, as paid to myself; being too much disposed, perhaps, to imagine that these are qualities to which my own character is no stranger. But though I am by no means surprised that this trial should have ended so much to your credit, yet I cannot forbear being astonished at that mean and unworthy spirit which induced your enemies² to engage in this prosecution.

But you will tell me, perhaps, that I am premature in my congratulations; for, while there is a charge still subsisting against you, what imports it, you will possibly ask, of which impeachment you are first acquitted? And I must confess it is a point of no consequence with respect to your character; for
you

² It may be unnecessary, perhaps, to remind the reader that this alludes to Dolabella, whose friendship and alliance Cicero was at this time courting.

you are not only perfectly innocent of both accusations, but are so far from having committed any action injurious to the honour of the republic, that you have greatly contributed to raise and extend its glory³. However, there is this advantage gained by your present victory, that the principal difficulty of the whole contest is now over. For, by the terms in which Sylla's law is drawn up, concerning offences against the state, and upon which your first prosecution was founded, it is easy for any man to give a colour to the most groundless charge. Whereas an information of bribery turns upon a fact in its own nature notorious, as no man can be guilty of this crime, unobserved by the public;

³ Cicero himself will furnish the most proper comment upon this passage. For, in a letter to Atticus, written not many months before the present, he describes the conduct of Appius, in Cilicia, in terms which shew that he was far from being unjustly arraigned by Dolabella. He represents him as having spread desolation through the province by fire and sword; as having left nothing behind him which he could possibly carry away, and as having suffered his officers to commit all kinds of violences which lust and avarice could suggest; "And I am going," says he, "this very morning, to repeal several of his iniquitous edicts." Appius, *cum ex asperos provinciam curarit, sanguinem miserit, quidquid potuit detraxerit, mihi tradiderit eunctam, &c.*—*Quid dicam de illius prefectis, comitibus, legatis? etiam de rapinis, de libidinibus, de contumeliis!*—*Eo ipse die, quo hæc ante lucem scribebam, cogitabam ejus multa inique constituta & acta tollere.* It is pleasant to observe, upon some occasions, the different colours in which the same character is painted by different hands: but one has not so frequently the opportunity of hearing the same conduct thus abused and thus applauded by the same man, and almost, too, in the same breath. *Ad Att.* vi. 1.

lic ; and consequently either the prosecutor, or the person accused, must evidently, and beyond all power of artifice, appear infamous. But whoever entertained even the slightest suspicions of your having obtained the high dignities through which you have passed, by illegal methods ? How do I regret that I could not be present at these prosecutions, that I might have exposed them to all the ridicule they so justly deserve !

You mentioned two circumstances which attended your trial, that afforded me particular satisfaction. The one is, that general zeal which was expressed by the whole republic in your behalf : the other, that generous and friendly part which both Pompey and Brutus have acted towards you in this conjuncture. With regard to the first, it would undoubtedly have been the interest of the commonwealth, even in the most flourishing periods of heroic virtue, to have distinguished a citizen of your exalted merit ; but it is more especially so in the present age, when there are so few of the same patriot character, to whom she can look up for protection. And as to the latter, I sincerely rejoice that your two relations, and my very particular friends, have thus warmly and zealously exerted themselves in your cause. The truth of it is, I look upon Pompey as the most considerable

considerable man that any age or nation has ever produced⁴: and Brutus, I am persuaded, will soon rise to the same honourable pre-eminence above his fellow citizens in general, which now distinguishes him among our youth in particular.

With regard to those witnesses who were suborned to give evidence against you, it shall be

⁴ In the last remark I took occasion to contrast Cicero with himself, in respect to his sentiments and his professions of Appius. The present passage affords an opportunity of shewing him in the same opposition with regard to Pompey. The author, then, of this encomium, has elsewhere said of the hero of his present penegyric, that "he was artful and "ungentle in his common intercourse; and as to his political conduct, that was altogether void of every thing great "or disinterested, and utterly unworthy of a man who meant "well to the liberty of his country." *Nihil come, nihil simplex, nihil ex τοις πολιτικοις honestum, nihil illustre, nihil forte, nihil liberum.* This character, 'tis true, was drawn several years before the date of the present letter; and different sentiments of the same man, at different times, are perfectly reconcilable, no doubt, with truth and sincerity. But there is extant a letter to Atticus, written after this to Appius, and at the distance too of not many months, wherein Cicero expresses the same contemptible opinion of Pompey. *Ego hominem απολιτικωτατον* (says he) *omnium jam ante cognorum, nunc vero etiam ασεβητατων.* And in another still more recent letter to Atticus, he asserts, that Pompey's political conduct had been full of mistakes during the last ten years: *Ut enim alia decem annorum peccata omittam, &c.* The truth of it is, Cicero seldom continues long in the same sentiments, or at least the same language of Pompey; and if he raises a trophy to his fame in one letter, we may be almost sure of seeing it reversed in another. If our author's judgment and penetration were less unquestionable, these variations from himself might be imputed to a more favourable cause than can now, perhaps, be reasonably assigned. *Ad Att. i. 13. viii. 16. vii. 13.*

be my care, when I pass through Asia, (if Flaccus has not already prevented me) to bring them to condign punishment. And now let me turn to your second letter.

I received great pleasure from the judicious sketch you communicated to me of public affairs. It appears that the dangers of the commonwealth are much less considerable, as well as her resources much more powerful, than I imagined, since the principal strength of Rome is united (as you inform me) under Pompey. It afforded me much satisfaction, at the same time, to remark that spirit of patriotism which animates your letter: and I am infinitely obliged to you, likewise, that you should suspend your own more important occupations, in order to teach me what judgment to form of our political situation. As to your treatise upon augury^a, I beg you would reserve it to a season when we shall both of us be more disengaged. When I reminded you of that design, I imagined you were wholly unemployed, and waiting in the suburbs of Rome the determination of your petition^b. But I shall now expect your orations^c in its stead;

^a See vol. 1. p. 279. l. 1. & note 1. & p. 460. l. 1.

^b For a triumph.

^c Appius maintained some rank in the republic as an orator, and was well skilled likewise in the laws and antiquities of his

stead; and hope, agreeably to your promise, that you will send me such of those performances as have received your last hand.

Tullus, whom you charged, it seems, with a commission to me, is not yet arrived; nor have I any other of your friends with me, except those of my own train; every one of whom I may with strict propriety call yours.

I do not well know what particular letters you mean by those which you call my *angry ones*. I have written twice, 'tis true, in order fully to justify myself against your suspicions, as well as tenderly to reprove you, for too hastily crediting reports to my disadvantage: and I thought I acted in this agreeably to the strictest friendship: but since you seem to be displeased with what I said, I shall not take the same liberty for the future. However, if these letters were not, as you tell me, marked with my usual vein of eloquence, I desire you would consider them as none of mine. For, as Aristarchus⁷ insisted that every verse in Homer

was

his country. The orations which Cicero enquires after were probably those which Appius spoke in defence of himself on these trials. *De Clar. Orat.* 297.

⁷ A celebrated critic, who flourished at Alexandria 176 years before Christ. He is said to have left two sons behind him, both of them fools; but they will not, perhaps, be thought to have degenerated very greatly from their father, if what is reported of him be true, that he wrote above a thousand commentaries upon different authors. *Miser si tam multa supercacia legisset!*

was spurious, which he did not approve, I desire you would in the same manner look upon every line which you think unrhetorical, as not the produce of my pen. You see I am in a humour to be jocose. Farewel: and if you are (as I sincerely hope) in the possession of the censorial office, reflect often on the virtues of your illustrious ancestor⁸.

LETTER VI.

[A. U. 703.]

FROM MARCUS CÆLIUS.

WE met with a difficulty that greatly embarrassed our schemes for procuring you a thanksgiving; but a difficulty, however, which we were not long in surmounting. For Curio, notwithstanding he is much in your interest, declared that, as all his attempts for convening a general assembly of the people had been obstructed⁹, he would by no means suffer the senate

⁸ The commentators suppose that Cicero alludes to Appius Claudius Coecus, who was censor in the year of Rome 442. He distinguished himself in his office by two works of great utility to the public; for he made that famous road called the *Via Appia*, part of which subsists to this day; and was the first, likewise, that supplied the city of Rome with water, by conveying the river Anio through an aqueduct of eleven miles in length. *Liv.* ix. 29.

⁹ Paulus, one of the present consuls, not having yet sacrificed his integrity to his interest, very warmly opposed the attempts of Curio, who was endeavouring to procure certain laws from the people in favour of Cæsar's present designs. Curio, in revenge, would not suffer any business to proceed

nate to pass any decree of the kind in question. If he were to depart, he said, from this resolution, it would look like giving up the advantages he had gained by the indiscreet zeal of the consul Paulus, and he should be considered as deserting the cause of the public. In order, therefore, effectually to remove this objection, we entered into an agreement with him, that if he would suffer the decree for your thanksgiving to pass, no other thanksgiving should be proclaimed during the remainder of this year, to which the consuls likewise consented. Your acknowledgments are accordingly due to them both, but particularly to Paulus; for he came wholly and readily into our proposal, in the most obliging manner; whereas Marcellus somewhat lessened the merit of his compliance, by telling us, that "the affair of these thanksgivings was an article upon which he laid no sort of stress." After having thus adjusted matters with Curio, we were informed that Hirrus intended to defeat our measures, by lengthening out the debates, when the question should come

proceed in the senate; a power with which he was invested as tribune of the people.

¹ A very singular custom prevailed in the Roman senate, with regard to their method of debating; for when a senator was required to deliver his sentiments on the point in question, he was at liberty to harangue on any other subject as long as he thought proper. This method was frequently employed to postpone a decree by those of an opposite party, when they found the majority was likely to be against them.

come before the senate. Our next business, therefore, was to make our applications on that side; which we so successfully did, that we not only prevailed with him to drop this design, but when the question was moved concerning the number of the enemies forces, and he might easily have prevented the decree, by requiring a list of the slain², he sat entirely silent. Indeed the single opposition he gave to us, was by voting with Cato; who, though he would not assent to this motion, spoke of your conduct, however, in very honourable terms. I must not forget to mention Favonius, likewise, as a third in this party. You will distribute your thanks, therefore, as they are respectively due:—to the three last, for not preventing this decree, when it was both in their inclination and their power to have done so; and to Curius, for making an exception in your favour to the general rule he had laid down to himself. Furnius and Lentulus laboured in this affair, as they ought, with as much zeal as if it had been their own, and went about with me in all my applications to solicit votes. It is but justice to Balbus Cornelius³, to name him too in
the

² The number of slain necessary to entitle a general to the honour of a triumph, was 5000; but, as a public thanksgiving was a distinction of an inferior nature, perhaps a less number might be sufficient. *Val. Max.* ii. 8.

³ I have already had occasion to observe, that Balbus acted

the catalogue of your active friends. He exerted himself, in truth, with great spirit in gaining over Curio: to whom he warmly remonstrated, that if he continued to obstruct the senate in this article, it would affect the interest of Cæsar⁴, and consequently render his own sincerity suspicious⁵. Among those who voted in your favour, there were some that, in their hearts, nevertheless, were by no means well-wishers to the decree. In this number were the Domitii and the Scipios: in allusion to which, Curio made them a very smart reply, when they affected to be extremely importunate with him to withdraw his protest. "I am the more inclined, said he, to do so, as I am sure it would be a terrible disappointment to some who have voted on the other side."

As to political affairs, the efforts of all parties are at present directed to a single point; and the general contest still is in relation to the provinces. Pompey seems to unite in earnest with the senate, that the 13th⁶ of November may be limited

acted as a kind of superintendant of Cæsar's political affairs at Rome.

⁴ As Cicero's popular talents could not but render him of service to any party he should espouse; he was at this time courted both by Pompey and Cæsar.

⁵ That is, with respect to Cæsar: in whose interest Curio had lately declared himself.

⁶ The commencement of Cæsar's government in Gaul cannot be dated higher than the year of Rome 695; for it is
VOL. II. D unanimously

limited for Cæsar's resigning his government. Curio, on the contrary, is determined to oppose this to the utmost: and accordingly has relinquished all his other schemes, in order to apply his whole strength to the affair in question. As to our party⁷, you well know their irresolution: and, consequently, will readily believe me when I tell you, they have not the spirit to push their opposition to the last extremity. The whole mystery of the scene, in short, is this:

Pompey,

unanimously agreed by all the ancient historians, that he was consul in the year 694. This government was at first granted to him for five years, and afterwards enlarged for five more. Agreeably to this computation, therefore, the legal period of his administration could not expire till the year 705; yet Cicero, in a letter to Atticus, written in the very beginning of the year 704, speaks of it as absolutely completed. Cæsar, on the contrary, in the harangue which he made to his army, just before his march into Italy, in the commencement of the same year, expressly says, that they had served under him nine years: and it appears, by what he mentions soon afterwards, that there wanted six months to complete his decennial period when he was recalled from his government. The historians, likewise, are neither agreed with themselves, nor with each other, in their account of the continuance of Cæsar's administration in Gaul. For Suetonius in one place calls it nine years, and in another ten: whereas, Dion Cassius expressly says it was but eight. As the decision of this difficulty would prove very little entertaining to the generality of English readers, it is only marked out for the consideration of those, who may think the solution worth their inquiry. *Vid. Ad Att. vii. 9. Cæs. Bel. Civil. i. 7. 9. Suet. in Jul. 25. 69. Dio. xliv. p. 263.*

⁷ This party was what they called the *optimates*, and which, in modern language, might be termed the "country party." They wanted not only spirit, but unanimity, to act to any effectual purpose: *non enim boni, ut putant, consentiant*, says Cicero, in a letter to Atticus, vii. 5.

Pompey, that he may not seem to oppose Cæsar, or to aim at any thing but what the latter shall think perfectly equitable, represents Curio as acting in this affair merely upon his own authority, and with no other view than to create disturbances. It is certain, at the same time, that Pompey is much averse to Cæsar's being elected consul, before he shall have delivered up his government, together with the command of the army: and, indeed, he seems to be extremely apprehensive of the consequences, if it should prove otherwise. In the mean while, he is severely attacked by Curio: who is perpetually reproaching him with deviating from the principles upon which he acted in his second consulship. Take my word for it, notwithstanding all the difficulties they may throw in Curio's way, Cæsar will never want a friend to rise up in his cause: and if the whole turns, as they seem to fear, upon his procuring some tribune to interpose his negative to their decrees, I will venture to pronounce that he may remain in Gaul as long as he shall think proper.

You will find the several opinions of the senators in relation to this affair, in the newspaper which I herewith send to you. I leave you to select such articles as you may think worthy of notice: for though I have omitted all the idle

stories of such a man being hissed⁹ at the public games, of another being buried with great funeral pomp, together with various impertinencies of the same uninteresting kind ; it still abounds with many paragraphs of little moment. However, I chose to err on the right side : and had rather hazard informing you of what you may not, perhaps, desire to hear, than pass over any thing material.

I am glad to find that your care has not been wanting to procure me satisfaction from Sittius : and since you suspect that affair is not in very safe hands, I entreat you to take it altogether into your own. Farewel.

LETTER

⁹ It was usual with the populace, whom any person, who had incurred their displeasure, entered the places of public entertainments, to express their resentments by a general hiss. An instance of this kind which happened with regard to the celebrated Hortensius, is mentioned in the 29th letter of the third book. Vol. 1. p. 294.

LETTER VII.

[A. U. 703.]

TO CANINIUS SALLUSTIUS¹, Proquæstor.

YOUR courier delivered both your letters to me at Taurus, on the 17th of July: which I will answer, as you seem to desire, according to their respective dates.

I have heard no news of my successor, and, indeed, I am inclined to believe, that none will be appointed. Nevertheless, I see no occasion for my continuance in this province after the expiration of my year²: especially now that all our fears are over with respect to the Parthians. I do not propose to stay at any place in my return; though, perhaps, I may visit Rhodes, in order to shew that city to my son and nephew³: but of this I am not yet determined.

¹ Nothing more is known of this person than what may be collected from the present letter: by which it appears that he was quæstor to Bibulus in Syria.

² That period was now within a few days of expiring; for the letter before us could not have been written sooner than the 17th of July, and Cicero's administration ended on the last day of the same month; computing it from the time he entered his province. *Vid. Ep. Fam. xv. 2.*

³ "The island of Rhodes is situated in the Mediterranean, not far from the coast of Lycia and Caria. It had a city of the same name, which was at this time much celebrated and resorted to, on account of its schools of eloquence and philosophy. Cicero himself, in the course of his travels, resided some time here, and applied himself to the study of oratory under the direction of Molo: who was both an experienced pleader and fine writer." Mr. Ross.

mined. The truth is, I am desirous of reaching Rome as soon as possible: however, I shall regulate my journey according to the posture of public affairs. But I am afraid it will be impossible for your successor to be so expeditious, as to give you an opportunity of joining me in Asia.

As to what you mention concerning your accounts, it may save you, I confess, some trouble, to make use of the dispensation which Bibulus, it seems, is willing to grant. But I think you can scarce neglect delivering them in, without violating the Julian law⁴: and though Bibulus may have his particular reasons⁵ for not paying obedience to that ordinance, I cannot but strongly advise your observing its injunctions.

I find you agree with some others of my friends, in thinking that I ought not to have drawn the troops out of Apamea: and I am
sorry

⁴ Julius Cæsar procured a law in his first consulate, by which it was enacted that the several magistrates in the provinces should deposite a copy of their respective accounts in the two principal cities of their government. *Pigh. Annal.* i. 352.

⁵ Bibulus, in the year of Rome 694, was elected joint consul with Cæsar, by whom he was treated with great contempt and indignity for endeavouring to withstand the violent measures of his administration. [See rem. 10. p. 163. vol. 1.] It is probable, therefore, that Bibulus, in resentment of these injuries, refused to acknowledge the validity of the law mentioned in the preceding note: as not having been passed, perhaps, with all the necessary formalities.

sorry I should have given occasion, by that step, to the malicious censures of my enemies. But you are singular in doubting whether the Parthians had at that time actually repassed the Euphrates. It was in full confidence of a fact so universally confirmed, that I evacuated the several garrisons of those brave and numerous troops with which I had filled them.

It is by no means reasonable that I should transmit my quæstor's accounts to you : nor, indeed, are they yet settled. I intend, however, to deposite a copy of them at Apamea. In answer to what you mention concerning the booty we took from the Parthians in this war, let me assure you, that no man shall touch any part of it, except the city quæstors on behalf of the public. I purpose to leave the money at Laodicea which shall arise from the sale of those spoils, and to take security for its being paid in Rome : in order to avoid the hazard both to myself and the commonwealth of conveying it in specie. As to your request concerning the 100,000 drachmas⁶; it is not in my power to comply with it. For the chests of money taken in war, fall under the direction of the præfects, in the same manner as all other plunder : and the particular share that belongs

⁶ About 3000l. of our money.

longs to myself, is in the hands of the quæstor. In return to your question, what my thoughts are concerning the legions, which have received orders to march into Syria, I always doubted of their arrival. But I am now fully persuaded, if it should be known at Rome that every thing is quiet in your province, before those forces enter Syria, that they will certainly be countermanded. And as the senate has appointed your successor, Marius, to conduct those troops, I imagine it will be a considerable time before you see him. Thus far in reply to your first letter: I am now to take notice of your second.

I want no inclination to recommend you, as you desire, in the strongest manner to Bibulus. But I must take this opportunity of chiding you a little, for having never acquainted me of the ill, though unmerited terms on which I stand with him⁷. You are, indeed, the only one of my friends among his officers, who omitted to inform me, that when the city of Antiochia was in a general consternation from the late invasion of the Parthians

⁷ Notwithstanding Cicero represents the disgust which Bibulus had conceived against him, to have been altogether without foundation; yet, (as Manutius justly observes upon this passage) he had great reason to be offended: for Cicero had been a principal promoter of those excessive honours which had been paid to Cæsar. See note 5 above.

Parthians, and their great hopes depended upon me and my army, that Bibulus often declared, he would suffer the last extremity rather than be obliged to my assistance. However, I was not offended at your silence, as I imputed it to that particular and powerful connexion in which you stood related to him as his quæstor, though I was not ignorant, at the same time, of the manner in which he treated you. But his unfriendly disposition appeared likewise in another instance: for though he dispatched a courier to Thermus with an account of the irruption of the Parthians, he did not think proper to communicate any intelligence of that kind to me; notwithstanding he well knew that I was particularly concerned in the consequence of that invasion^s. The single letter I received from him, was to desire my interest when his son was soliciting the office of augur: to which, in compliance with those sentiments I ever bore towards him, and in tenderness to the affliction under which he then laboured⁹, I endeavoured to return him the most civil and friendly answer

I was

^s Cicero's province being contiguous to that of Syria.

⁹ Two of his sons had lately been murdered at Alexandria by some Roman soldiers. Seneca mentions the behaviour of Bibulus, upon this occasion, as an example of philosophical magnanimity; for the very next day after he had received this afflicting news, he had the resolution to appear in the public exercise of his proconsular office. *Val. Max.* iv. 1. *Senec. consul. ad marc.* 14.

I was capable. If this behaviour proceeded from a general moroseness of temper (which I confess, I never took to be his disposition) I have the less reason to complain : but if it arose from any particular coolness to myself, my recommendations can nothing avail you. I am inclined to suspect the latter, from the whole tenor of his conduct towards me. For in his late dispatches to the senate, he is pleased to usurp the entire credit of an affair, in which I was jointly concerned with him : and assures that venerable assembly that “ he had taken “ proper care to settle the *exchange*¹⁰ in such a “ manner as would be most advantageous to “ the public.” He mentions, at the same time, as his own act, what was solely and absolutely mine : and says, that “ in order to ease the “ people of the burthen of maintaining the “ Lombard troops”, he forbore to demand “ them.” On the other hand, he thought proper to give me part in an action which belongs altogether to himself : and names me in the letter I am speaking of, as “ joining in his application for a larger allowance of corn for the use “ of the auxiliary troops.” To point out another instance, also, which betrays the meanest and
most

¹⁰ Of the public money which was to be remitted from Cilicia and Syria, to the treasury at Rome.

¹¹ Which were raised in order to be sent against the Parthians.

most contemptible malevolence: Ariobarzanes having been particularly recommended by the senate to my protection¹², and it being by my means they were prevailed upon to acknowledge his regal title, Bibulus constantly speaks of him, throughout his letter, under the degrading appellation of "the son of the late-king." My recommendation, therefore, to a person thus ill-disposed towards me, would only render him so much the more disinclined to serve you. Nevertheless, I herewith enclose a letter, which I have written to him, in compliance with your request: and I leave it to your own discretion to make what use of it you shall think proper. Farewel.

LETTER VIII.

[A. U. 703.]

MARCUS CÆLIUS, to Cicero.

I CONGRATULATE you on your alliance¹ with so worthy a man as Dolabella: for such I sincerely think him. His former conduct, it is true, has not been altogether for his own advantage. But time has now worn out those little indiscretions of his youth: at least if any of them should still remain, the authority and
advantage

¹² See let. 1. book 4.¹ See rem. 6. on the first letter of this book.

advantage of your advice and friendship, together with the good sense of Tullia, will soon, I am confident, reclaim him. He is by no means, indeed, obstinate in his errors : and it is not from any incapacity of discerning better, whenever he deviates from the right path. To say all in one word, I infinitely love him.

Do you know, my dear Cicero, what a victory Curio has lately obtained in relation to the provinces? The senate, in pursuance of a former order, having assembled to consider of the obstruction which some of the tribunes had given to their decree², Marcus Marcellus moved, that application might be made to those magistrates to withdraw their protest : but it was carried in the negative by a considerable majority. Pompey is at present in such delicate circumstances, that he will scarce find any measures, I believe, perfectly to his satisfaction. The senate, however, seem to intend, by the resolution I just now mentioned³, that Cæsar shall be admitted as a candidate for the consulship, notwithstanding he should refuse to

² This decree, together with the protest of the tribunes here mentioned, is inserted at large in the 7th letter of the 4th book. P. 353. vol. 1.

³ Cicero speaks of this resolution in a letter to Atticus, and produces it as a proof that the intentions of the senate were not true to the interest of the commonwealth. For had the Motion of Marcellus been vigorously supported, Curio's opposition, he says, would have been in vain, and Cæsar must necessarily have resigned his command. *Ad Att.* vii. 7.

to resign his government. What effect this may have upon Pompey, you shall know as soon as I can discover. In the mean time, it imports you wealthy veterans to consider what methods to pursue, in case the latter should appear either unable, or unwilling to support the republic.

Hortensius' lies at the point of death. Farewel.

LETTER

⁴ There is evidently some error in the Latin text: which runs thus, *Quemadmodum hoc laturus Pompeius sit, cum cognoscat, quidnam reipublicæ futurum sit, si aut non curet, vos senes, &c.* I have ventured, though unsupported by any of the manuscripts or commentators, to read this passage in the following manner; *Quemadmodum hoc Pompeius laturus sit, cum cognoscam, te certiore faciam. Quidnam reip. futurum sit, si aut non possit, aut non curet, vos, &c.*

⁵ Hortensius would have been considered as the noblest orator that ever shined in the Roman Forum, if Cicero had not risen with superior lustre. There was a peculiar eloquence in his manner, as well as in his expression: and it was difficult to determine whether his audience beheld the grace of his action, or listened to the charms of his rhetoric, with greater admiration and pleasure. Cicero often celebrates him for the prodigious strength of his memory: of which the elder Seneca has recorded a remarkable instance. He undertook, it seems, as a proof of its force, to attend a whole day at a public auction, and give an exact account of every thing that was put up to sale, of the price at which it was sold, and of the name of every particular purchaser: and this he accordingly executed without failing in a single article. Cicero received the news of his death with real concern: for though there was a perpetual emulation, there was a mutual friendship nevertheless between them. This harmony, so unusual with those who contend together for the same prize, was greatly owing to the good offices of Atticus; who seems, indeed, upon all occasions, (and it is the most amiable part of his very singular character) to have employed

LETTER IX.

[A. U. 703.]

TO APPIUS PULCHER.

THAT I may answer your letter in due form, let me pay my congratulations to you in the first place, and then turn to what concerns myself.

Be assured, the account you gave me concerning the event of your trial on the information for bribery⁶, afforded me great pleasure. Not because you were acquitted; for I never entertained the least doubt of the contrary; but to find that there was not a single judge who dared throw in a negative upon your innocence, even under all the secrecy and safety which the method of balloting would have secured to his malice. This is a circumstance altogether extraordinary: a circumstance, indeed, so little agreeable to the general principles and purposes of the present depraved generation, that the more I reflect on your high rank, on your public and private virtues, and on the distinguished

employed the remarkable influence he enjoyed with all parties, in reconciling differences and cementing friendships. Hortensius was about six years older than Cicero: and died in the 63d year of his age. *Val. Max.* viii. 10. *Cic. de clar. orat.* 301. *Senec. controvers.* i. in *præm.* *Ad Att.* vi. 6. viii. 8. *Corn. Nep. in Vit. Att.* 5.

⁶ See rem. 4 on let. 5. book 5.

guished honours to which they have exalted you, the more I consider it with astonishment. I can truly say, no occurrence has happened for a considerable time that surprised me more.

And now, let me entreat you to imagine yourself, for a moment, in my situation with respect to the affair you mentioned⁷: and if you should then find that you are under no difficulties, I will not desire you to excuse mine. You will allow me to join in your own good-natured wishes, that an alliance which was conducted without my knowledge, may prove happy both to me and to my daughter. I will venture to hope too, that something may be derived not altogether unfavourable to my wishes⁸, even from the particular conjuncture wherein this transaction has happened: though I must add, that nothing encourages me in this hope so much as the sentiments I entertain of your candour and good sense. What farther to say I know not. On the one hand, it would not become me to speak with more despondency of an affair, to which you have kindly given your favourable presages: on the other, there are some
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⁷ The marriage of Cicero's daughter with Dolabella.

⁸ What Cicero seems to intimate in this passage is, that he might, probably, be enabled, by the influence which his alliance would give him with Dolabella, to infuse into him a more favourable disposition towards Appius.

lights in which I cannot view it without uneasiness. I am apprehensive, indeed, lest you should not be sufficiently persuaded, that this treaty was managed without my privity⁹: as, in truth, it was by some of my friends, to whom I gave a general commission to act in my absence as they should judge proper, without referring themselves, at this great distance, to me. But if you ask what measures I would have taken, had I been present? I will freely own, I should have approved of the match¹⁰: though, as to the time of consummating it, I should certainly have done nothing either without your advice, or contrary to your inclination.

You have already discovered, I dare say, how terribly I am perplexed between apologizing for a step which I am obliged to defend, and avoiding, at the same time, saying any thing that may give you offence. Have so much charity, therefore, I beseech you, as to ease me of this embarrassment: for, in fair truth, I never pleaded
a more

⁹ See rem. 6. on let. 1. of this book.

¹⁰ Cicero had surely forgotten what he said to Appius in a former letter. For taking notice of the report which Dolabella had spread concerning this match, he affirms there was so little of truth in it, that he would much sooner renounce all former correspondence with Dolabella, than enter into a new connexion with a man who had declared himself the enemy of Appius. *Ego citius cum eo, qui tuas inimicitias suscepisset, veterem conjunctionem diremissem, quam novam conciliassem.* Ep. Fam. iii. 10. See the first letter of this book.

a more difficult cause. Of this, however, be well persuaded, that, had I not, ere I was informed of this alliance, completed my good offices in your service, it would have induced me to defend your reputation, not, indeed, with more zeal (for that would have been impossible) but certainly with so much the more conspicuous and significant testimonies of my friendship.

The first notice that was given me of this marriage, was by a letter which I received on the 3d of August, upon my arrival at Sida; at which city I touched in my voyage from the province. Your friend Servilius, who was then with me, seemed a good deal concerned at the news; but I assured him, that the only effect it would have, with respect to myself, would be to give an additional strength to my future services in your behalf. To be short, though it cannot increase my affection for you, it has increased my endeavours of rendering that affection more evident: and as our former disunion made me so much the more cautious to avoid affording the least suspicion that my reconciliation with you was not thoroughly sincere; so this alliance will heighten my care not to give the world reason to think that it has in any degree impaired the strength of that perfect friendship I bear you. Farewèl.

LETTER X.

[A. U. 703.]

TO MARCUS CATO¹.

*PRAISE from thy lips 'tis mine with pride to boast :
He best can give it who deserves it most :*

as Hector, I think, says to the venerable Priam, in one of Nævius's plays. Honourable, indeed, is that approbation which is bestowed by those who have themselves been the constant object of universal applause. Accordingly, I esteem the encomiums you conferred upon me in the senate, together with your congratulatory letter, as a distinction of the highest and most illustrious kind². Nothing could be more agreeable

¹ This letter is an answer to the second in the preceding book, p. 430. vol. 1.

² Cicero was at this time well pleased with the part which Cato had acted towards him : for he tells Atticus, what he likewise says in this letter, that " he looked upon " the applauses which the former had conferred upon him, " in the senate, as preferable to all the triumphs in the " world." But he soon changed his language : and, in his subsequent letters to Atticus, he expresses himself with great warmth and indignation against Cato's behaviour in this very article. Cato, it seems, had granted to Bibulus what he refused to Cicero, and voted that a general thanksgiving should be appointed, for the success of the former in Syria. This was a preference which Cicero could not digest, and he complains of it to Atticus in terms to the following purpose. " Cato," says he, " has given me his applauses, which I
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agreeable to my wishes, as nothing could be more glorious for my reputation, than your having thus freely given to friendship, whatever you could strictly give to truth. Were Rome entirely composed of Catos, or could it produce many (as it is surprising it can furnish even one) of that venerable character, my desires would be amply satisfied, and I should prefer your single approbation to all the laurels and all the triumphal cars in the universe. In my own judgment, indeed, and according to the

“ *did not desire*, but refused me his suffrage, though I earnestly requested it. Yet this ungrateful man has voted that a thanksgiving shall be appointed for twenty days, in honour of Bibulus. Pardon me for saying it; but I neither can, nor will forgive so injurious a treatment.” Cicero ascribes this conduct of Cato to envy; and his ingenious translator, Monsieur Mongault, imputes it to partiality. On the contrary, I am persuaded it flowed neither from the one nor the other, but was the pure result of that impartial justice which seems upon all occurrences to have invariably determined his actions. For Cicero had undoubtedly no claim to the honour he demanded: and for this reason, among others, because the number of the slain on the side of the enemy was not so great as the laws in these cases required. [Vid. Ep. Fam. viii. 11.] But it is probable that the claim of Bibulus was supported by all the *legal* requisites. For though the Parthians were driven out of Syria before his arrival in the province; yet Cassius, by whose bravery they were repulsed, acted under the auspices of Bibulus: *sub ejus auspicia res gestæ erant*, as they expressed it. Now the success of the lieutenant, or other subordinate officer, was always imputed to the general, notwithstanding he were not actually present; as being supposed to arise from the effect of these *auspicia*, or sacred rites, which he previously performed ere he set out on his intended expedition. *Ad Att. vii. 1. 2. 3. Rosin. Antiq. Rom. 962.*

the refined estimate of true philosophy, the honours you paid me in the senate, and which have been transmitted to me by my friends, is undoubtedly the most significant distinction I can possibly receive. I acquainted you, in my former letter, with the particular motives which induced me to be desirous (for I will not call it ambitious) of a triumph: and if the reasons I there assigned will not, in your opinion, justify a warm pursuit of that honour, they must prove, at least, that I ought not to refuse it, if the senate should make me the offer: and I hope that assembly, in consideration of my services in this province, will not think me undeserving of a reward so usually conferred. If I should not be disappointed in this hope, my only request is, (what, indeed, you kindly promise) that, as you have paid me the honours you thought most to my glory, you would rejoice in my obtaining those which are most to my inclination. And this disposition you have already very sincerely shewn, not only by your letter, but by having signed the decree that has passed in my favour: for decrees of this kind, I know, are usually subscribed by those who are most in the interest of the person to whose honour they are voted. I will only add, that I hope to see you very shortly: and may I find the republic in a happier situation than I have reason to fear! Farewel.

LETTER

LETTER XI.

[A. U. 703.]

TO CAIUS MARCELLUS, Consul.

I AM informed, by the letters of all my friends, what, indeed, I was sufficiently sensible of by the effects, that you have exerted the same generous zeal in promoting my honours³, now that you are consul, which you always discovered, in conjunction with your whole family, in every preceding station of your life. There is no good office, therefore, which you have not a full right to claim at my hands, as there is none which I shall not at all times be most warmly and joyfully ready to return. It is a point of much importance from whom one receives an obligation; but believe me there is not a man in the world I would rather choose to be obliged to than yourself. For, not to mention that I have been attached to you by a similitude of studies, and by the many generous services I have received both from yourself and your father: there is an additional inducement, which, in my estimation, is, of all others, the most engaging: I mean the manner
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³ This alludes to the good offices of Marcellus, in relation to the general thanksgiving which had lately been voted for the success of Cicero's arms in Cilicia. See the 6th letter of this book, p. 30.

in which you act, and have ever acted, in the administration of public affairs. As nothing, then, is more dear to me than the commonwealth, can I scruple to be as much indebted to you in my own particular, as I am in common with every friend to the republic? And may your patriot labours be attended, as I trust they will, with all the success they deserve.

If the Etesian winds⁴, which usually begin to blow about this season of the year, should not retard my voyage, I hope to see you very speedily. Farewel.

LETTER XII.

[A. U. 703.]

TO APPIUS PULCHER.

WHEN the question, concerning the military honours to be paid to your arms⁵ was formerly debated in the senate, I supported the cause of your glory with as much warmth and zeal, as if I had foreseen that I should one day have occasion for your good offices of the same kind to myself. Truth obliges me, however, to acknowledge

⁴ Periodical winds, which constantly blow the same way during a certain number of months every year.

⁵ In Cilicia, probably; in which province Appius, as the reader has been informed, was predecessor to Cicero. This letter is upon the same subject with the preceding.

acknowledge, that you have returned much more than you received. All my letters, indeed, from Rome agree in assuring me, that you not only supported my interest by the authority of your eloquence, and the credit of your vote, (which was as much as I could in reason desire from a man of your rank and character) but that, by contributing your advice, by assisting at the meetings which were held upon my account, by your personal applications, and, in short, by your assiduity in general, you rendered the good offices of the rest of my friends altogether superfluous. These are circumstances far more to my credit than the honour itself for which you thus generously laboured. The latter, indeed, has frequently been obtained by those who had done nothing to deserve it; but no man was ever supported with so much zeal by an advocate thus illustrious, without merit to justify his claim. But the great benefit that I propose to myself by your friendship, arises entirely from the advantages which naturally flow from an intercourse of this kind; as nothing, in truth, can be attended with greater, especially between two persons, who, like you and me, are united by the same common pursuits; for I profess to act with you upon the same political principles in

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which

which our sentiments are perfectly agreed, as well as to be joined with you in an equal attachment to the same arts and sciences which we mutually cultivate. I sincerely wish that fortune had as strongly connected us in every other respect, and that you could think of all who belong to me⁶, with the same friendly sentiments I entertain for those who stand related to you. But I do not despair that even this may be effected. It is a point, however, in which you are no way concerned, and which it is my part alone to manage. In the mean time, I beg you would be persuaded, as you will most certainly experience, that this alliance has, if possible, rather augmented than diminished the warmth of my zeal for your service.

But, as I hope I am now writing to a censor⁷, I must have the modesty to shorten my letter, that I may not be guilty of a breach of respect to a magistrate who is the great superintendant of good manners. Farewel.

LETTER

⁶ This alludes to Dolabella, whose conduct to Appian has been so often mentioned in these remarks.

⁷ See rem. 5. on the first letter of this book.

LETTER XIII.

[A. U. 703.]

TO MARCUS CÆLIUS, Curule-Ædile.

NOTHING could be more judicious, nor more carefully conducted, than your management of Curio in relation to the thanksgiving⁶. Indeed, the circumstances of that whole affair, have proved entirely conformable to my wishes; not only as it passed the senate with so much expedition, but as our mutual competitor, the angry Hirrus, expressed his assent to those divine encomiums with which Cato honoured my actions. I am inclined to flatter myself, therefore, that this will lead to a triumph; and I desire you would be prepared accordingly.

It is with great pleasure I find that Dolabella enjoys the happiness of your esteem and friendship. I was at no loss to guess the circumstance to which you alluded, when you mentioned your hopes that the prudence of my daughter Tullia would temper his conduct. But what would you have said had you seen the letter I wrote⁷ to Appius, immediately after

I received

⁶ See the sixth letter of the present book, to which this is an answer.

⁷ The letter to which Cicero alludes is the first of the present book.

I received yours upon that subject? Yet thus we must act, my friend, if we would live in the world². I hope the gods will give success to this match, and that I shall have reason to be well satisfied with my son-in-law; I am sure, at least, your amicable offices will extremely contribute to that end.

The dark prospect of public affairs fills me with great disquietude. I am well-inclined towards Curio; it is my wish that Cæsar's achievements may meet with the honourable rewards they deserve; and I would willingly sacrifice my life in support of Pompey; still, however, none of my affections are superior to that which I feel for my country. But, I perceive, you do not take any great part in her contests; being divided, I suppose, between the different obligations of a patriot and a friend.

Upon my departure from the province, I left the administration in the hands of Calpurnius³. You will be surprised, perhaps, that I should commit so great a trust to so young a man. But you will remember that he was my quæstor; that he is a youth of a noble family, and that I am justified in my choice by a practice almost universal. Besides, I had no other person near
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² See rem. 6. on let. 1. of this book.

³ The person to whom the third letter of this book is addressed.

me of superior rank; for Pontinius had long before quitted the province, and as to my brother, I could by no means have prevailed upon him to accept the employment. Indeed, if I had placed the administration in his hands, the malicious part of the world would probably have said, that, instead of resigning my government in obedience to the decree of the senate, I still continued it in the person of one who may justly be considered as my second self. They might, perhaps, have added, too, that the intentions of the senate were, that those only should command in the provinces who had never enjoyed a government before⁴; whereas my brother had actually presided in Asia⁵ during three whole years. The method I have taken, therefore, secures me from all censure; whereas, if I had substituted my brother, there is no abuse I should not have had reason to expect. In fine, I was induced, I will not say to court, but at least to avoid disoblighing a young man of Calvus's quality, not only by my own inclination, but by the example also of our two great potentates⁶; who, in
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⁴ The particular decree to which Cicero alludes, may be found among those which are inserted in the seventh letter of the fourth book. It stands the last.

⁵ He was elected governor of Asia Minor, in the year of Rome 692.

⁶ Cæsar and Pompey.

the same manner, and for the same reason, distinguished their respective quæstors, Cassius and Antonius⁷. Upon the whole, my friend, I expect that you approve of my choice; for it is now out of my power to recal it.

The hint you dropped concerning Ocella, was so extremely obscure⁸, that I could make nothing of it, and I find no mention of it in your newspaper.

You are become so wonderfully celebrated, that the fame of your conduct in relation to Matrinus, has travelled beyond Mount Taurus.

If I should not be delayed by the Etesian winds, I hope to embrace you and the rest of my friends very soon. Farewel.

LETTER

⁷ Quintus Cassius, brother to the celebrated Caius Cassius, was quæstor to Pompey, in Spain; as Mark Antony served under Cæsar in the same quality, when he presided as proprætor in that province.

⁸ See the sixth letter of the fifth book, vol. 1. p. 442.

LETTER XIV.

[A. U. 703.]

MARCUS CÆLIUS to CICERO.

I AM ashamed to own how much occasion I have to complain of Appius. This ungrateful man singled me out as the object of his secret spleen, for no other reason but because he has received greater obligations from me than his narrow spirit would suffer him to return. However, he could not carry on his malicious purposes with so much concealment, as to prevent my receiving an intimation of them ; and, indeed, I had myself observed, that he certainly did not mean me well. Accordingly, I found that he had been tampering with his colleague¹ to my prejudice ; as he soon afterwards openly avowed his injurious designs to some others of his friends. I discovered, also, that he had entered into some consultations of the same kind with Lucius Domitius ; who is lately, I must inform you, become my most bitter enemy. In short, I perceived that he was endeavouring to recommend himself to Pompey, by his ill offices to me. Nevertheless, I could not submit to enter into any personal remonstrances,

¹ Lucius Calphurnius Piso, the father-in-law of Cæsar, was colleague with Appius in the censorial office.

remonstrances, or intercessions, with a man whom I had reason to consider as indebted to me even for his life. I contented myself, therefore, with complaining to some of our common friends, who had been witnesses to the obligations he had received at my hands. But, as this method, I found, was to no purpose, and that he would not deign to give me the least satisfaction; I determined to apply to his colleague. I rather chose, indeed, to ask a favour of the latter, (notwithstanding I was sensible that my connexions with you² had rendered him far from being my friend) than undergo the mortification of engaging in a personal confidence with so ridiculous and contemptible a mortal as Appius. This step extremely exasperated him, and he was no sooner apprised of it, than he warmly complained that I was seeking a pretence to quarrel with him merely in resentment, he said, for his not having fully gratified my avaricious expectations. Soon after this, he openly endeavoured to procure Servius to exhibit articles of impeachment against me, and entered into several consultations with Domitius for that purpose. But, when

² An enmity had subsisted between Piso and Cicero, ever since the consulate of the former, who concurred with Clodius in those violent measures which terminated in Cicero's exile. See rem. 2. p. 37. and rem. 21. p. 174. vol. 1.

when they perceived that they could not succeed in their intended charge, they dropped this design, and resolved to encourage a prosecution of another kind; though, at the same time, they well knew that there was not the least shadow of evidence to support their accusation. However, towards the close of my Circensian games³, these shameless confederates caused me to be indicted on the Scantinian law⁴. But Pola, whom they had spirited up to be the informer, had scarce entered his action, when I lodged an information against our worthy censor⁵ himself, for the very same crime. And nothing, in truth, could have been more happily concerted. For this retaliation was so universally applauded, and

³ Circensian games is a general name for those shews of various kinds, which were exhibited at different seasons to the people in the Circus; a place in Rome set apart for those purposes. But the particular games alluded to in this passage, are most probably (as Manutius, with great reason, conjectures) those which they called the Roman. For these were exhibited by the ædiles in September; and this letter seems to have been written some time in that or the following month. The nature of these games has been explained in a former note.

⁴ The author of this law was Marcus Scantinius, who was tribune of the people in the year of Rome 601. It prohibited that horrid and unnatural commerce, which, in after-ages of more confirmed and shameless corruption, became so general as to be openly avowed even by those who affected, in other respects, a decency of character. Horace and Pliny the consul are both instances of this kind, and afford a very remarkable evidence, that the best dispositions are not proof against fashionable vices, how detestable soever, without a much stronger counterpoise than a mere moral sense can supply.

⁵ Appius.

and by the better sort too among the people, that the general satisfaction they have expressed, has mortified Appius even more than the disgrace of the information itself. I have charged him, likewise, with appropriating a little chapel to his private use, which belongs to the public⁶.

It is almost six weeks since I delivered my former letter to the slave, who now brings you both; and I am extremely vexed at the fellow's delay.—I think I have no farther news to send you, except that Domitius⁷ is in great pain for the success of his approaching election.

As I earnestly wish to see you, I expect your arrival with much impatience. I will only add my request, that you would shew the world you are as sensible of the injuries done to me, as I have ever warmly resented those which have at any time been offered to yourself. Farewel.

LETTER

⁶ Manutius, in his remark upon this place, produces a passage from Livy, by which he proves, that it was the business of the censors to take care that these public chapels should not be shut up by private persons from the general and common use to which they were originally erected. Cælius, therefore, informed against his adversary for having practised himself what it was incumbent upon him, by the duties of his office, to punish in others. *Vid. Manut. in loc.*

⁷ This person, it is probable, is the same who is mentioned before in this letter. The commentators suppose that the election, of which Cælius speaks, was for a member of the augural college, in the room of Hortensius, lately deceased. For it is said, in the next letter, that Mark Antony was his competitor; and it appears, from Hirtius, that the former was chosen augur about this time. *Hirt. de bel. Galli.* vii. 50.

LETTER XV.

[A. U. 703.]

From the same.

IF you had taken the king of Parthia himself prisoner, and sacked his metropolis, it would not make you amends for 'your absence from these diverting scenes. You have lost, indeed, a subject of inexhaustible mirth, by not being a spectator of the very ridiculous figure which the luckless Domitius displayed, when he lately found himself disappointed of his election^a. The assembly of the people was exceedingly numerous upon this occasion: but the force of party bore down all before it^b, and even carried away many of the friends of Domitius from his interest. This circumstance he imputes to my management: and as he considers the preference which has been thus given to his competitor, as a real injury done to himself, he honours me with the same marks of his displeasure, with which he distinguishes the most intimate

^a See the last note of the preceding letter.

^b Mark Antony was supported by all the interest and credit of Cæsar: who exerted himself very strenuously upon this occasion, by going in person to the several municipal towns of Italy that lay nearest to his province of Gaul, in order to engage them in favour of his friend. For these cities being admitted to the freedom of Rome, had a right of voting at elections. *Hirt. de bell. Gall. viii. 50.*

timate of his friends. He is at present, indeed, a very diverting spectacle of indignant wrath : which he impotently discharges, in the first place against myself, for promoting the election of Mark Antony, and in the next against the people, for expressing so much satisfaction in his repulse.

Under this article of news relating to Domitius, I must not forget to mention, that his son has commenced a prosecution against Saturninus : a man, it must be owned, whose conduct, in the former part of his life, has rendered him extremely odious. The public is waiting with great impatience for the event of this trial : but since the infamous Peducæus has been acquitted, there is a fair prospect that Saturninus will not meet with more inexorable judges.

As to political affairs ; I have often mentioned to you, that I imagined the public tranquillity could not possibly be preserved beyond the present year : and the nearer we approach to those contentions which must inevitably arise, the more evident this danger appears. For Pompey is determined most strenuously to oppose Cæsar's being consul, unless he resigns his command : and Cæsar, on the contrary, is persuaded that he cannot be safe upon those terms'. He has offered, however, to throw up his.

* Cæsar had acted in a very arbitrary and illegal manner during

commission, provided Pompey will do the same. And thus their very suspicious friendship and alliance will probably end at last in an open war. For my own part, I shall be extremely perplexed in what manner to act in that conjuncture: and I doubt you will likewise find yourself under the same embarrassment. On the one hand, I have an interest and connexion with Pompey's party: and on the other, it is Cæsar's cause alone, and not his friends, that I dislike. You are sensible, I dare say, that so long as the dissensions of our country are confined within the limits of debate, we ought ever to join with the more righteous side; but that as soon as the sword is drawn, the strongest party is always the best². With respect to our present divisions, I foresee that the senate, together with the whole order of judges³, will declare

during his first consulate: he apprehended, therefore, and with just reason, that if he should divest himself of his command, and return to Rome in a private character, his enemies would immediately arraign him for his mal-administration. *Dio, p. 148.*

² It were to be wished that every man who embraces this maxim, were as little scrupulous of acknowledging it, as the author of this letter; for of all noxious creatures, a knave without a mask is by far the least dangerous.

³ The expression in the original is, *quique res judicant*: which Dr. Middleton has translated, *and all who judge of things*. But this explanation is contrary to the concurrent sentiments of the best commentators, who agree that *qui res judicant* is a circumlocution for *judices*. The phrase, it must be owned, is singular: and so is the style of Cælius in general,

declare in favour of Pompey: and that all those of desperate fortunes, or who are obnoxious to the laws, will list themselves under the banners of Cæsar. As to their armies; I am persuaded there will be a great inequality. But I hope we shall have time enough to consider the strength of their respective forces, and to declare ourselves accordingly.

I had almost forgotten to mention a piece of news, much too remarkable to be omitted. You must know that our worthy censor Appius is become the very prodigy of reformers, and is most outrageously active in restraining our extravagancies in pictures and statues, in limiting the number of our acres, and abolishing usurious contracts⁴. The man imagines, I suppose

ral. But what principally confirms the sense here adopted is, that it is most agreeable both to credibility and to fact. For it is by no means probable that every man of judgment was an enemy to Cæsar: and it is most certain that the whole order of judges were friends to Pompey. *Vid. Ad Att. viii. 16. Life of Cic. ii. 212. 8vo. ed.*

⁴ It is probable that Appius had himself as remarkably transgressed the rules of moderation in this last article, as he undoubtedly had in the other two: for avarice is an attendant that seldom fails of accompanying luxury. It is certain, at least, that his own possessions were far above mediocrity: for Cicero frequently speaks of him in the preceding letters as a man who, by his wealth as well as by his alliances and abilities, was of great weight in the republic. And as to his extravagance of the virtuoso kind, it appears that when he intended to offer himself as a candidate for the office of ædile, he plundered all the temples of Greece, as well as other less sacred repositories, in order to make a collection of pictures and

pose, that the censorship is a kind of specific for discharging the stains of a blemished reputation⁵. But I have a notion he will find himself mistaken: for the more pains he takes of this sort to clear his character, the more visibly the spots will appear.—In the name of all the gods, my dear Cicero, hasten hither to enjoy the diverting spectacle of Appius sitting in judgment on extravagance, and Drusus⁶ on debauchery! It is a sight, believe me, well worth your expedition.

Curio is thought to have acted very prudently, in withdrawing his protest against the decree for the payment of Pompey's troops.—But to answer your question in few words concerning my sentiments of public affairs; if one or other of our chiefs should not be employed against the Parthians, I am persuaded great dissensions will soon ensue: dissensions, my friend,

and statues for the decoration of the games which were annually exhibited by those magistrates. *Ep. Fam.* iii. 10. *Pro Domo* 43. *Vid. et Pigh. Annal.* anno 696.

⁵ The batteries of ridicule are never more properly pointed, than when they are thus levelled at counterfeit virtue: as there is nothing that more justly raises contempt and indignation than those reforming hypocrites,

Qui Curios simulant & Bacchanalia vivunt. Juven.

⁶ It is supposed from what Cælius here says of him, that he was one of the prætors this year. *Pigh. Annal.* 703.

friend, which nothing can terminate but the sword, and which each of them seem well-inclined and prepared to draw. In short, if your own safety were not deeply concerned, I should say that Fortune is going to open to you a most entertaining scene⁸. Farewel.

LETTER XVI.

[A. U. 708.]

TO TERENTIA and TULLIA.

THE amiable young Cicero and myself are perfectly well, if you and my dearest Tullia are so. We arrived here⁹ on the 14th of this month, after a very tedious and disagreeable passage, occasioned by contrary winds. Acastus¹ met me upon my landing, with letters from Rome; having been so expeditious as to perform his journey in one-and-twenty days. In the packet which he delivered to me, I found yours, wherein you express some uneasiness lest your former letters should not have reached my hands.

⁸ The meaning of this seems to be (as one of the commentators has explained it) that if Cicero himself were not in danger from the dissention between Cæsar and Pompey, it must afford him great diversion to see these two chiefs, who had both of them used him ill, revenging his quarrel upon each other.

⁹ Athens.

¹ A freedman belonging to Cicero.

hands. They have, my Terentia: and I am extremely obliged to you for the very full accounts you gave me of every thing I was concerned to know.

I am by no means surprised at the shortness of your last, as you had reason to expect us so soon. It is with great impatience I wish for that meeting: though I am sensible, at the same time, of the unhappy situation in which I shall find the republic. All the letters, indeed, which I received by Acastus, agree in assuring me, that there is a general tendency to a civil war: so that when I come to Rome I shall be under a necessity of declaring myself on one side or the other. However, since there is no avoiding the scene which fortune has prepared for me, I shall be the more expeditious in my journey, that I may the better deliberate on the several circumstances which must determine my choice. Let me entreat you to meet me as far on my way as your health will permit.

The legacy which Precius has left me, is an acquisition that I receive with great concern: as I tenderly loved him, and extremely lament his death. If his estate should be put up to auction before my arrival, I beg you would recommend my interest in it to the care of Atticus: or in case his affairs should not allow him to undertake the office, that you would re-

quest the same favour of Camillus. And if this should not find you at Rome, I desire you would send proper directions thither for that purpose. As for my other affairs, I hope I shall be able to settle them myself: for I purpose to be in Italy, if the gods favour my voyage, about the 13th of November. In the mean time I conjure you, my amiable and excellent Terentia, and thou, my dearest Tullia, I conjure you both, by all the tender regards you bear me, to take care of your healths. Farewel.

Athens, October the 18th.

LETTER XVII.

[A. U. 703.]

TO TIRO².

I DID not imagine I should have been so little able to support your absence: but indeed it is more than I can well bear. Accordingly, notwithstanding

² He was a favourite slave of Cicero, who trained him up in his family, and formed him under his own immediate tuition. The probity of his manners, the elegance of his genius, and his uncommon erudition, recommended him to his master's peculiar esteem and affection: of which the letters addressed to him in this collection, are a lasting and remarkable memorial. They are many of them written, indeed, in a style so different from the ordinary language of friendship, that they probably gave strength and currency to a suspicion highly disadvantageous to Cicero's moral character. This imputation seems to have been first propagated by the son of the celebrated Asinius Pollio; who, in a treatise which he published

withstanding it is of the last importance to my interest¹ that I should hasten to Rome, yet I cannot but severely reproach myself for having thus deserted you. However, as you seemed altogether averse from pursuing your voyage till you should re-establish your health, I approved of your scheme: and I still approve of it, if you continue in the same sentiments. Nevertheless, if after having taken some refreshment, you should think yourself in a condition to follow me, you may do so, or not, as you shall judge proper. If you should determine in the affirmative, I have sent Mario to attend you: if not, I have ordered him to return immediately. Be well assured, there is nothing I more ardently

lished in order to magnify his father's eloquence at the expense of Cicero's, inserted a wanton sonnet, which he pretended was composed by the latter on Tiro. But to speak impartially, there does not seem, from all that can be traced of Cicero's private conduct, the least sufficient evidence to charge him with having been infected with this execrable vice of his degenerate countrymen. In passing judgment, therefore, on these letters to Tiro, it should be remembered that Cicero's temper was more than commonly warm: which, infused a peculiar heat into all his expressions, whether of friendship or of enmity. This, together with those notions of amity which were carried by the ancients, in general, so much higher than they have risen in modern ages, may account, perhaps, for those overflowings of tenderness which are so very observable in the letters to Tiro. *Aul. Gel.* xiii. 9. *Plin. Epist.* vii. 4.

² As Cicero was full of the hopes of obtaining a triumph, he was desirous of hastening to Rome before the dissensions between Cæsar and Pompey should be raised to so great a height as to render it impossible for him to enjoy that honour.

dently desire than to have you with me, provided I may enjoy that pleasure without prejudice to yourself. But be assured too, that if your continuing somewhat longer at Patræ^{*} should be thought necessary, I prefer your health to all other considerations. If you should embark immediately, you may overtake me at Leucas[†]. But if you are more inclined to defer your voyage till your recovery shall be better confirmed, let me entreat you to be very careful in choosing a safe ship; and that you would neither sail at an improper season nor without a convoy. I particularly charge you, also, my dear Tiro, by all the regard you bear me, not to suffer the arrival of Mario, or any thing that I have said in this letter, in the least to influence your resolution. Believe me, whatever will be most agreeable to your health, will be most agreeable, likewise, to my inclinations: and, therefore, I desire you would be wholly governed by your own prudence. It is true, I am extremely

* A city in Peloponnesus, which still subsists under the name of Patras. Cicero had left Tiro indisposed in this place, the day before the date of the present letter.

† A little Grecian island in the Ionian sea, now called Saint Maure. It was on this island that the celebrated promontory stood, from whence the tender Sappho is said to have thrown herself in a fit of amorous despair; and which the inimitable Addison has rendered still more celebrated by his ingenious papers on the *Lover's Leap*. See *Spect.* vol. 3. No. 223, 233.

tremely desirous of your company, and of enjoying it as early as possible: but the same affection which makes me wish to see you soon, makes me wish to see you well. Let your health, therefore, be your first and principal care; assuring yourself, that among all the numberless good offices I have received at your hands, I shall esteem this by far the most acceptable.

November the 3d.

LETTER XVIII.

[A. U. 703.]

To the same.

I CANNOT describe to you (nor would I, indeed, if it were in my power) the uneasy situation of my mind. I will only say, that your speedy recovery and return to me, will afford infinite satisfaction to both of us.

The third day after we parted brought me to this place⁶. It lies within a hundred and twenty stadia⁷ of Leucas; where I promise myself that we shall meet; or at least, that I shall find Mario there with a letter from you. In the meanwhile, let me entreat you to be careful of your health, in proportion to the mutual tenderness we bear towards each other. Farewel.

Alyzia, Nov. the 5th.

LETTER

⁶ Alyzia, a city of Acarnia in Greece.

⁷ About 15 miles.

LETTER XIX.

[A. U. 703.]

To the same.

I DISPATCHED a letter to you yesterday from this place, where I continued all that day in order to wait the arrival of my brother: and I write this before sun-rise, just as we are setting out. If you have any regard for us, but particularly for me, shew it by your care to re-establish your health. It is with great impatience I expect to meet you at Leucas: but if that cannot be, my next wish is, that I may find Mario there with a letter. We all of us, indeed, but more especially myself, earnestly long to see you: however, we would by no means, my Tiro, indulge ourselves in that pleasure, unless it may be consistent with your health. There is no necessity, therefore, of hastening your journey, as there will be days enough to enjoy your company when once you shall be thoroughly recovered. I can easily, indeed, forego your services: but your health, my dear Tiro, I would fain preserve, for your own sake in the first place, and, in the next, for mine. Farewel.

LETTER

LETTER XX.

[A. U. 703.]

To the same.

YOUR letter produced very different effects on my mind ; as the latter part somewhat alleviated the concern which the former had occasioned. I am now convinced that it will not be safe for you to proceed on your voyage, till your health shall be entirely re-established : and I shall see you soon enough, if I see you perfectly recovered.

I find by your letter, that you have a good opinion of your physician : and I am told he deserves it. 'However, I can by no means approve of the regimen he prescribed : for soups cannot certainly be suitable to so weak a stomach. I have written to him very fully concerning you ; as also to Lyso. I have done the same likewise to my very obliging friend Curius : and have particularly requested him, if it should be agreeable to yourself, that he would remove you into his house. I am apprehensive, indeed, that Lyso will not give you proper attendance : in the first place, because carelessness is the general characteristic of all his countrymen ; and, in the next, because he

has

^a The Grecians.

has returned no answer to my letter. Nevertheless, as you mention him with esteem, I leave it to you to continue with him, or not, just as you shall think proper. Let me only enjoin you, my dear Tiro, not to spare any expence that may be necessary towards your recovery. To this end, I have desired Curius to supply you with whatever money you shall require: and I think it would be proper, in order to render your physician the more careful in his attendance, to make him some present.

Numberless are the services I have received from you, both at home and abroad; in my public and my private transactions; in the course of my studies and the concerns of my family. But would you crown them all? Let it be by your care that I may see you (as I hope I soon shall) perfectly recovered. If your health should permit, I think you cannot do better than to take the opportunity of embarking with my quæstor Mescinius: for he is a good-natured man, and seems to have conceived a friendship for you. The care of your voyage, indeed, is the next thing I would recommend to you, after that of your health. However, I would now by no means have you hurry yourself; as my single concern is for your recovery. Be assured, my dear Tiro, that all my friends are yours: and

consequently, as your health is of the greatest importance to me as well as to yourself, there are numbers who are solicitous for its preservation. Your assiduous attendance upon me has hitherto prevented you from paying due regard to it. But now that you are wholly at leisure, I conjure you to devote all your application to that single object: and I shall judge of the affection you bear me, by your compliance with this request. Adieu, my dear Tiro, adieu! adieu! may you soon be restored to the perfect enjoyment of your health.

Lepta, together with all your other friends salute you. Farewel.

Leucas, Nov. the 7th.

LETTER XXI.

[A. U. 703.]

To the same.

THOUGH it was but an hour or two that you and I spent with Xenomenes at Thyreum^a, yet he has conceived as strong an affection for you, as if he had conversed with you his whole life: so wonderfully engaging is my Tiro! Accordingly he has promised to assist you in all
your

^a A city of Peloponnesus.

your occasions : and it is a promise, I am well persuaded, he will punctually perform.

I should be glad, if you find yourself better, that you would remove to Leucas, in order to perfect your recovery. Nevertheless, I would not have you change your present situation, without taking the sentiments of Curius and Lyso, together with those of your physician.

I had some thoughts of sending Mario back to you : whom you might return to me with a letter as soon as your health should be somewhat mended. But I considered, that this would be only securing the pleasure of hearing from you once : whereas, I hope to receive that satisfaction frequently. And if you have any regard for me, you may easily give it me, by sending Acastus every day to the quay : where he cannot fail of meeting with many who will readily charge themselves with conveying a letter to me. You may be assured, in return, that I shall not suffer any opportunity to escape me of sending a line or two by those who are going to Patræ.

I rely entirely upon the care of Curius for your recovery : as nothing, I am sure, can exceed either his friendship to myself, or his humanity in general. I desire, therefore, you would be wholly resigned to his direction. As I am
willing

willing to sacrifice the pleasure of your company to the advantage of your health; I entreat you to have no other concern but what relates to your recovery; all the rest, be assured, shall be mine. Again and again I bid you farewell. I am this moment leaving Leucas.

Nov. the 7th.

LETTER XXII.

[A. U. 703.]

To the same.

THIS is the third letter I have written to you within these four-and-twenty hours; and I now take up my pen more in compliance with my usual custom, than as having any thing new to say. I can only repeat, indeed, what I have often requested, that you would proportion the care of your health to the affection you bear me. Yes, my Tiro, I conjure you to add this to the numberless good offices you have conferred upon me, as the most acceptable of them all. When you have taken, as I hope you will, all necessary measures for that purpose, my next desire is, that you would use the proper precautions, likewise, to secure to yourself a safe voyage. In the mean time, you will not fail to write to me, as often as you

VOL. II.

G

shall

shall meet with any person who is coming into Italy, as I shall take all occasions of doing the same on my part, by those who may be going to Patras. In one word, take care of yourself, my dear Tiro, I charge you; and since we have been thus prevented from pursuing our voyage together, there is no necessity for resuming yours in haste. Let it be your single care to re-establish your health. Again and again farewell.

Actium¹, Nov. the 7th, in the evening.

LETTER XXIII.

[A. U. 703.]

To the same.

I HAVE been detained here² this whole week, by contrary winds; which have, likewise, confined my brother and his son at Buthrotum³. I am full of anxiety about your health, though by no means surprised at not hearing from you, as the same winds which delay my voyage, prevent the arrival of your letters.

Let me entreat you to exert your utmost care in regaining your health; and, I hope, as soon as the season of the year and your recovery shall render it convenient for you to embark,

bark,

¹ A city in Epirus.

² In Corcyra.

³ A city in Epirus.

bark, you will return to him who infinitely loves you. Your arrival will be impatiently expected by numberless others, as well as by myself; for all who bear any affection for me, are tender well-wishers to you. Again and again, my dear Tiro, I conjure you to take care of your health. Farewel.

Corcyra, Nov. the 16th.

LETTER XXIV.

[A. U. 703.]

To the same.

WE parted, you know, on the second of November; on the sixth I arrived at Leucas, from whence I reached Actium the following day. I was detained there, by contrary winds, till the next morning, when I sailed for Corcyra, where I arrived on the ninth, after having had a very favourable passage. The weather proving extremely tempestuous, I was obliged to continue in that place till the sixteenth, when I again proceeded on my voyage; and, on the seventeenth, I entered the bay of Cassiope, a maritime town in Corcyra, situated about an hundred and twenty stadia from my former port. Here the wind shifting, I was detained till the 23d. In the mean time, those ships that had accompanied me thither, and were so im-

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patient

patient as immediately to put to sea again, were many of them lost. However, on the evening of the day I last mentioned, we weighed anchor; and, having sailed all that night and the next day with a fair gale from the south, and a very clear sky, we gained, with great ease, the port of Hydruna, in Italy. The same wind carried us the following day, being the twenty-fifth, to Brundisium. I was met at this place by Terentia, (who desires me to assure you of her esteem) and we entered the town together. On the twenty-seventh, a slave of Plancius arrived here with your very acceptable letter, dated the thirteenth of this month; which, though it did not entirely answer my wishes, contributed greatly to alleviate the uneasiness I was under upon your account. I had the satisfaction, likewise, of hearing, at the same time, from your physician, who confirms me in the hope that you will soon be well.

And now, as I perfectly well know your prudence, your temperance, and the affection you bear me, can it be necessary that I should entreat you to employ your utmost care to re-establish your health? I am persuaded, indeed, you will do every thing in your power to return to me as soon as possible; however, I would by no means have you more expeditious

tious than your strength will bear. I am sorry you accepted Lyso's invitation to his concert, lest your going abroad so soon should occasion a relapse on the fourth critical week⁴. But, since you were willing to hazard your health rather than appear deficient in point of politeness, I hope you will guard against any ill consequence that may attend your complaisance.

I have written to Curius, to request he would make a proper acknowledgment to your physician, and supply you, likewise, with whatever money your occasions shall require; which I will repay to his order. You will find an horse and a mule at Brundisium, which I have left there for your service. I am proceeding on my journey to Rome, where I expect to see
great

⁴ The ancients entertained a variety of superstitious notions concerning the mystical power of numbers, particularly the number seven, with its several multiplications and divisions. Cicero, in one of his philosophical treatises, calls this number *rerum omnium fere nodus*; and it is to its particular influence with regard to the crisis of distempers, that he alludes in the present passage. Macrobius has retailed abundance of absurd learning in relation to this wonder-working number, which he concludes with the following reflections: *Unde non immerito hic numerus totius fabricæ dispensator & dominus, ægris quoque corporibus periculum sanitæ denuntiat*. This opinion, however, is not altogether inconsistent with a more improved philosophy; and experience shews, that the 7th, the 14th, &c. days, are frequently attended with certain determining symptoms in the progress of acute diseases. *Macrobius in Somn. Scip. i. 6.*

great commotions upon the entrance of the new consuls into their office^s. However, it is my resolution not to engage in the violent measures of either party.

I have only to add my most earnest request, that you would not embark without taking all prudent precautions to secure a safe voyage. The masters of ships, I know, who are governed entirely by their hopes of gain, are always in haste to sail. But I entreat you, my dear Tiro, not to be too hazardous ; and remember that you have a wide and dangerous sea to traverse. I should be glad you would, if possible, take your passage with Mescinius, who is never disposed to run any imprudent risks in expeditions of this kind. But if your health should not permit you to embark so soon, let me desire you would look out for some other companion in your voyage, whose public character may give him an authority with the commander of your ship. In a word, you cannot more effectually oblige me, than by exerting your utmost care to return to me safe and well. Again and again, my dear Tiro, I bid you adieu.

I have recommended you in the strongest terms to the care both of Curius and Lyso, as well as of your physician. Adieu.

LETTERS

^s The consuls entered upon their office on the first day of the new year.

LETTERS
OF
MARCUS TULLIUS CICERO.
TO
SEVERAL OF HIS FRIENDS.

BOOK VII.

LETTER I.

[A. U. 704.]

To TIRO.

NOTWITHSTANDING that I feel the want of your services, in every place and upon all occasions ; yet, be assured, your illness gives me far less concern, on my own account, than on yours. However, since it has terminated, as Curius informs me, in a quartan ague ; I hope, if you are not wanting in proper care, that it will prove a means of more firmly establishing

G 4

your

your health. Be so just, then, to the regard you owe me, as not to suffer any other concern to employ your thoughts but what relates to your recovery. I am sensible, at the same time, how much you suffer from this absence; but, believe me, all will be well whenever you are so. I would by no means, therefore, have you in so much haste to return to me, as to expose yourself to the dangers of a winter voyage; nor, indeed, to the fatigue of a sea-sickness, before you shall have sufficiently recovered your strength.

I arrived in the suburbs² of Rome on the fourth of January, and nothing could be more to my honour than the manner in which I was met on my approach to the city. But I am unhappily fallen into the very midst of public dissention; or rather, indeed, I find myself surrounded with the flames of a civil war. It was my earnest desire to have composed these dangerous

² A quartan ague was supposed by the ancients, to be extremely salutary in its consequences. Aulus Gellius mentions a contemporary orator and philosopher, who wrote a serious panegyric upon this wholesome distemper; wherein he supported his opinion upon the authority of a passage in some writings of Plato, which are now lost. *Nact. Att. xvii. 12.*

³ As Cicero claimed the honour of a triumph, he was obliged, till his pretensions should be determined, to take up his residence without the walls of the city, agreeably to a custom which has been frequently mentioned in the preceding observations.

dangerous ferments; and I probably might, if the passions of some, in both parties, who are equally eager for war, had not rendered my endeavours ineffectual. My friend Cæsar has written a very warm and menacing letter to the senate. He has the assurance, notwithstanding their express prohibition, to continue at the head of his army, and in the government of his province; to which very extraordinary measures he has been instigated by Curio. The latter, in conjunction with Quintus Cassius and Mark Antony, without the least violence having been offered to them*, have withdrawn themselves to Cæsar,

* The purport of Cæsar's letter was, that he declared himself willing to resign his command, provided Pompey did the same; but if this were not complied with, that he would immediately march into Italy, and revenge the injuries done both to himself and to the liberties of the republic. *Appian. Bel. Civ. ii.*

† The letter mentioned in the last note was received by the senate with great indignation, and considered as an open declaration of war. Accordingly they voted, that if Cæsar did not resign his command, by a certain day named in their decree for that purpose, he should be deemed an enemy to his country. This decree was protested against by Curio, Quintus Cassius Longinus, and Mark Antony, in virtue of their prerogative as tribunes of the people: and while the senate were deliberating in what manner to punish the authors of this protest, they were advised, by the consul Lentulus, to withdraw before any decree against them had actually passed. Perhaps this is all that Cicero means, when he asserts, that "no violence had been offered to these tribunes:" for, otherwise, his assertion would be contradicted by the unanimous testimony of all the ancient historians. *Appian. Bel. Civil. ii. Cæsar. Bel. Civil. i. 3. Dio. xli. p. 153.*

Cæsar. They took this step immediately after the senate had given it in charge to the consuls⁵, the prætors, and the tribunes of the people, together with those of us who are invested with proconsular power, to take care of the interests of the republic⁶. And never, in truth, were our liberties in more imminent danger; as those who are disaffected to the commonwealth, never were headed by a chief more capable, or better prepared to support them. We are raising forces with all possible diligence, under the authority, and with the assistance of Pompey, who now begins, somewhat too late, I fear, to be apprehensive of Cæsar's power. In the midst, however, of these alarming commotions, the senate demanded, in a very full house, that a triumph should be immediately decreed to me. But the consul Lentulus, in order to appropriate to himself a greater share in conferring this honour, told them, that he would propose it himself in proper form, as soon as he should have dispatched the affairs that were necessary in the present conjuncture. In the mean time, I act with great moderation :

⁵ The consuls of this year were Clodius Marcellus, and Cornelius Lentulus Crus.

⁶ By this decree, the magistrates therein named were invested with a discretionary power of acting as they should judge proper in the present exigency of public affairs; a decree to which the senate never had recourse, but in cases of the utmost danger and distress. *Cæs. Bel. Civil.* i. 5.

tion: and this conduct renders my influence with both parties so much the stronger. The several districts of Italy are assigned to our respective protections; and Capua is the department I have taken for mine.

I thought it proper to give you this general information of public affairs; to which I will only add my request, that you would take care of your health, and write to me by every opportunity. Again and again I bid you farewell.

Jan. the 12th.

LETTER II.

[A. U. 704.]

TO RUFUS¹.

I SHOULD have used my utmost endeavours to have given you a meeting, if you had continued in your resolution of going to the place you first appointed: and though you were willing to spare me that trouble, yet be assured I should, upon the least notice, have shewn you that I prefer your convenience to my own.

If

¹ Lucius Mescinius Rufus, the person to whom this letter is addressed, was quæstor to Cicero in Cilicia. His conduct in that office seems to have given occasion to the character we find of him in the letters to Atticus, where he is represented as a man of great levity, and of a most debauched and avaricious turn of mind. *Ad Att.* iv. 3.

If my secretary, Marcus Tullius, were not absent, I should be able to send you a more explicit answer to your letter. This, however, I will assure you, that, with regard to exhibiting the accounts² you mention, (for I will not venture to be so positive as to any other instance) he has not intentionally taken any step injurious either to your interest or your reputation. As to my own share in this transaction, had the law formerly observed in matters of this kind been still in force, I should not, most certainly, have laid my accounts before the treasury, without having, agreeably to those connexions that subsist between us³, previously examined and adjusted them with you. But the ancient usage in these cases being now superseded by the Julian law, which obliged me to leave a stated account in the province, and exhibit an exact copy of it to the treasury; I paid you that compliment in Cilicia, which I should otherwise have paid you at Rome. Nor did I at that time by any means endeavour to control your accounts by mine;

on

² These were Cicero's accounts relating to the public expences of his government in Cilicia; in which there seems to have been articles inserted not altogether favourable to the reputation of Rufus as quæstor, and which he was desirous, therefore, should have been altered or suppressed before they had been delivered into the treasury at Rome.

³ As proconsul and quæstor.

⁴ See p. 38 of this vol.

on the contrary, I made concessions to you, of which, I dare say, you will never give me reason to repent. The fact is, I resigned my secretary (whose conduct you now, it seems, suspect) entirely to your directions : and it was Tullius, together with your brother, (who you desired might be joined with him) that settled these accounts with you in my absence. I concerned myself, indeed, no farther than just to cast my eye over them ; and I considered the copy, which I thus received from my secretary, as coming immediately from your brother's own hand. In this whole transaction I have treated you with all possible respect and confidence ; and it was not in my power to have employed a person to make up these accounts, who would have been more cautious than my secretary that nothing should appear to your disadvantage. That I have paid a necessary obedience to the Julian law, by depositing a copy of my stated accounts in the two principal cities of the province, is most certain. But though I had many reasons for being desirous of passing them as expeditiously as possible ; yet I should have waited your return to Rome, had I not considered their being thus deposited in the province as just the same thing, with respect to you, as if they had been actually carried into the treasury at Rome.

As to the article you mention relating to Volusius, it could by no means be inserted in the account. For I am informed by those who are conversant in business of this kind, particularly by my most judicious friend Camillus, that Volusius cannot stand charged with the sum in question, instead of Valerius⁵; but that the sureties of the latter are necessarily liable to the payment of this debt. It amounts, however, to no more than nineteen thousand sesterces⁶, and not to thirty thousand⁷, as you state it in your letter. For I had recovered part of it from Valerius, and it is only the remainder that I have charged. But you are unwilling, it should seem, to allow me the credit of having acted upon this occasion either with generosity in regard to my friends, or (what, indeed, I less value myself upon) even with common caution with respect to myself. Why else should you suppose that my lieutenant and præfect owe it to my secretary, rather

⁵ The nature of this affair concerning Valerius and Volusius, is utterly inexplicable, as it refers to a transaction of which we know neither the full circumstances, nor the particular laws to which it relates. Vain, therefore, would be the task of retailing the several opinions of the commentators upon this and the following passages, or the attempt to clear them up by any additional conjectures; as it is better to remain quietly in the dark, than to blunder about in quest of a light which is no where to be found.

⁶ About 152l. sterling.

⁷ About 240l. sterling.

ther than to myself, that they are eased of a very severe, and, in truth, a very unconscionable burthen? and why else should you imagine me so negligent in a point wherein both my duty and interest were equally and greatly concerned, as to suffer my secretary to settle this account just as he thought proper, without requiring him even to read it over to me? In short, though I flatter myself that I have taken no imprudent measures in this business, yet you will not believe, it seems, that I have bestowed upon it even a single thought. The truth, however, is, that the scheme of throwing off this debt from Volusius was entirely my own; as I am endeavouring, likewise, to discharge the sureties of Valerius, and even Marius himself, from so severe a penalty. And I have the satisfaction to find this my design not only generally approved, but applauded; though, to tell you the whole truth, it is not, I perceive, greatly relished by my secretary. Nevertheless, I thought it the duty of an honest man to spare the fortunes of such numbers of his friends and fellow-citizens, when he could do so without prejudicing the public interest. In regard to what you mention concerning Luccius, I have acknowledged that the money was deposited in the temple by my orders, in pursuance of Pompey's advice. The latter has

received this sum for the public use⁸; as Sestius possessed himself of that which you had deposited in the same place. I am very sensible that this is an affair in which you are in no sort concerned. However, I should be extremely sorry that I omitted to particularise this circumstance, if it did not most authentically appear, by the decree of the senate, and by the letters which passed between us, for whose use it was delivered into the hands of Sestius. It was the notoriety of this fact, and the certainty that it was of no importance to you, which prevented me from making particular mention of it. But since you wish that I had, I wish so too. I agree with you in thinking that it is proper you should insert this article into your accounts: nor will they, by that mean, appear in the least inconsistent with mine; as you will only add what I omitted, and vouch my express orders. I have no reason, most certainly, to deny them; nor should I, indeed, if I had, when you desired the contrary.

As to the nine hundred thousand sesterces⁹, they are specified in the manner that you, or your brother, at least, required. And if there is
any

⁸ For the purposes, perhaps, of the war which he was now preparing to carry on against Caesar.

⁹ About 7263l. of our money.

any item in respect to my lieutenant which you are dissatisfied with, and which (after having renounced the privilege I was entitled to by the decree of the senate¹⁰) it is in my power to rectify; I will endeavour to do so as far as I legally may¹¹. In the mean time, be well assured I shall take no step in this affair, if I can possibly avoid it, that may prove inconsistent either with your interest, or your inclination.

In answer to your inquiry concerning my honorary list¹²; I must acquaint you, that I have only delivered in the names of my præfects and
military

¹⁰ It seems probable, from this passage, that there was some decree of the senate which indulged the proconsuls with a longer time for bringing in their accounts, than they were entitled to by the law; which privilege Cicero thought proper to wave. *Manutius*.

¹¹ There is a passage in the original between this and the next sentence, which is omitted in the translation. It runs thus: *Tu certe pecunia exacta ita efferre ex meis rationibus relatis non oportuit, nisi quid me fallit: sunt enim alii peritiores*. The principal difficulty of this period lies in the words *exacta* and *efferre*: which the commentators have endeavoured to remove by various readings and conjectures. But as neither their readings nor conjectures offer any thing satisfactory, I leave it to the explanation of some more successful interpreter; applauding, in the mean time, the modesty of Grævius, who closes his remark upon this place with the following ingenuous acknowledgment, so unusual in a critic by profession: *Nihil in re tam obscura definio, says he, nec mihi ipse satisfacio*.

¹² The proconsuls, upon their return to Rome, after the expiration of their provincial ministry, used to present a list of such of their officers and attendants, who had particularly distinguished themselves by their zeal and fidelity in their respective functions. *Manutius*.

military tribunes, together with those who attended me as proconsular companions¹³. I had conceived a notion that no certain time was limited for this purpose: but I have since been informed, that it is necessary to present this list within thirty days after exhibiting the accounts. I am sorry you had not the benefit of paying this compliment; as I have no ambitious views to serve by taking it upon myself. But it is still open to you, with respect to the centurions and the companions of the military tribunes: the law not having fixed any time for presenting a list of that sort.

I have nothing farther, I think, to observe upon your letter, except in relation to the hundred thousand sesterces¹⁴. I remember you wrote to me upon this subject before, in a letter dated from Myrina¹⁵, and acknowledged it to be an error of your own: though, if there be any error in the case, it seems rather chargeable on your brother and my secretary. But be that as it will, the mistake was discovered too late to be corrected: for I had then quitted the province and deposited my accounts. I believe,

¹³ These were generally young noblemen who attended the proconsul into his government as a sort of volunteers, in order to gain experience and acquaint themselves with business. *Manutius*.

¹⁴ About 800l.

¹⁵ A maritime city in Æolia, a province of Asia.

lieve, therefore, that the answer I returned was agreeable to the disposition in which I always stand towards you, and to those hopes I had then conceived of my finances. I do not, however, remember that I carried my complaisance so far, as to make myself your debtor for that sum ; any more than I imagine that you intended this part of your letter as one of those importunate memorials, so frequent in these times of general distress. You will consider, that I left in the hands of the farmers of the revenues at Ephesus, all the money which legally accrued to me from my government: and that this whole sum, amounting to no less than two millions two hundred thousand sesterces¹⁶, was seized for the use of Pompey. Whatever effect this great loss may have upon me, I am sure you ought not to be discomposed at yours : and you should only look upon it as a dish the less at your table, or an inconsiderable diminution of what you might otherwise have expected from my liberality. But had you actually

¹⁶ One may judge from hence what immense wealth those rapacious governors of the Roman provinces acquired, who did not scruple to oppress the people committed to their charge, by every method of extortion that avarice could suggest. For Cicero, who professed to conduct himself with the most exemplary disinterestedness in his province, was yet able, it appears, to acquire so large a sum in a single year as about 17,600*l.* of our money ; and that too from a province by no means the most considerable of the republic's dominions.

actually advanced these hundred thousand sesterces to me out of your own purse, yet, to be sure, you are too complaisant to insist upon a security: and as to paying them, were I ever so well disposed for that purpose, you must know it is not in my power.—You see I answer you in the same spirit of pleasantry, in which I suppose that part of your letter was written to which this refers. But to be serious: if you think that Tullius can be of any service to you in this affair, I will send him as soon as he returns from the country.—I have no objection to your destroying this letter when you shall have read it. Farewel.

LETTER III.

[A. U. 704.]

TO TERENTIA and to TULLIA.

IN what manner it may be proper to dispose of yourselves during the present conjuncture, is a question which must now be decided by your own judgments as much as by mine. Should Cæsar advance to Rome, without committing hostilities, you may certainly, for the present at least, remain there unmolested: but if this madman should give up the city to the rapine of his soldiers, I much doubt whether even Dolabella's credit and authority will be sufficient

cient to protect you. I am under some apprehension, likewise, lest, while you are deliberating in what manner to act, you should find yourselves so surrounded with the army as to render it impossible to withdraw, though you should be ever so much inclined. The next question is, (and it is a question which you yourselves are best able to determine) whether any ladies of your rank venture to continue in the city: if not, will it be consistent with your character to appear singular in that point? But be that as it will, you cannot, I think, as affairs are now situated, be more commodiously placed, than either with me, or at some of our farms in this district: supposing, I mean, that I should be able to maintain my present post. I must add, likewise, that a short time, it is to be feared, will produce a great scarcity in Rome. However, I should be glad you would take the sentiments of Atticus, or Camillus, or any other friend whom you may choose to consult upon this subject. In the mean while let me conjure you both to keep up your spirits. The coming over of Labienus¹ to our party, has given affairs a much better aspect. And Piso having withdrawn

¹ Labienus was one of Cæsar's principal and most favourite lieutenants in Gaul; where he greatly distinguished himself by his military conduct. The Pompeian party, therefore, were

withdrawn himself from the city, is likewise another very favourable circumstance: as it is a plain indication, that he disapproves the impious measures of his son-in-law².

I entreat you, my dearest creatures, to write to me as frequently as possible, and let me know how it is with you, as well as what is going forward in Rome. My brother and nephew, together with Rufus, affectionately salute you. Farewel.

Minturnæ³, Jan. the 25th.

LETTER

very assiduous in their applications to gain him over to their cause; as they promised themselves great advantages from his accession. But none, however, appears to have attended it: and he who in Cæsar's camp had been esteemed a very considerable officer, seemed to have lost all his credit the moment he went over to Pompey's.

———*Fortis in armis*

Cæsar's Labienus erat, nunc transfuga vilis.

Hirt. Bel. Gal. viii. 52. Ad Att. viii. 2. Lucan. v. 345.

² Cicero, as has been observed in a former note, has painted the character of Piso in the darkest and most odious colours. But satires and invectives are not generally the most faithful memoirs: and it is evident, from Piso's conduct upon this occasion, that he was by no means what our author represents him in one of his orations, *portentum & pæne funus reipublicæ*; at least if Cæsar's measures were really more unfavourable to liberty than those of Pompey. See vol. I, p. 37. rem. 2.

³ A town in Campania. This letter, in some of the Latin editions, bears date in July, in others no month is specified. But it was undoubtedly written in January: as it appears by a letter to Atticus, that Cicero's wife and daughter came to him at Formiæ on the 2d of February. *Ad Att. vii. 18,*

LETTER IV.

[A. U. 704.]

To the same.

It well deserves consideration, whether it will be more prudent for you to continue in Rome, or to remove to some secure place within my department: and it is a consideration, my dearest creatures, in which your own judgments must assist mine. What occurs to my present thoughts is this. On the one hand, as you will probably find a safe protection[†] in Dolabella, your residing in Rome may prove a mean of securing our house from being plundered; should the soldiers be suffered to commit any violences of that kind. But, on the other, when I reflect that all the worthier part of the republic have withdrawn themselves and their families from the city, I am inclined to advise you to follow their example. I must add, likewise, that there are several towns in this canton of Italy under my command, which are particularly in our interest: as also, that great part of our estate lies in the same district. If there-
fore

[†] This epistle seems to have been a sort of duplicate of the former: and though it is dated from a different place, it was probably written on the same day, and conveyed by some unexpected opportunity that occurred after he had dispatched the foregoing.

fore you should remove hither, you may not only very frequently be with me; but whenever we shall be obliged to separate, you may be safely lodged at one or other of my farms. However, I am utterly unable to determine, at present, which of these schemes is preferable: only let me entreat you to observe what steps other ladies of your rank pursue in this conjuncture; and be cautious, likewise, that you be not prevented from retiring, should it prove your choice. In the mean time, I hope you will maturely deliberate upon this point between yourselves; and take the opinion also of our friends. At all events, I desire you would direct Philotimus to procure a strong guard to defend our house: to which request I must add, that you would engage a proper number of regular couriers, in order to give me the satisfaction of hearing from you every day. But, above all, let me conjure you both to take care of your healths as you wish to preserve mine. Farewel.

Formiæ^s, the 25th.

LETTER

^s A maritime city in Campania, not far from Minturnæ, the place from whence the preceding letter is dated.

LETTER V.

[A. U. 704.]

To TIRO.

YOU will easily judge of our distress, when I tell you, that myself and every friend of the republic have abandoned Rome, and even our country, to all the cruel devastations of fire and sword. Our affairs, indeed, are in so desperate a situation, that nothing less than the powerful interposition of some favourable divinity, or some happy turn of chance, can secure us from utter ruin. It has been the perpetual purpose of all my speeches, my votes, and my actions, ever since I returned to Rome, to preserve the public tranquillity. But an invincible rage for war had unaccountably seized not only the enemies, but even those who are esteemed the friends of the commonwealth: and it was in vain I remonstrated, that nothing was more to be dreaded than a civil war. Cæsar, in the mean time, unmindful of his former character and honours, and driven, it should seem, by a sort of phrenzy, has taken possession of Ariminum, Pisaurum, Ancona, and Arretum. In consequence of this, we have all deserted the city: but how prudently, or how heroically,

heroically, it now avails not to examine'. Thus you see our wretched situation! Cæsar, however, has offered us the following conditions: in the first place, that Pompey shall retire to his government in Spain; in the next, that the army we have raised shall be disbanded, and our garrisons evacuated. Upon these terms he promises to deliver up the farther Gaul into the hands of Domitius, and the nearer into those of Confidius Nonianus, the persons to whom these provinces have been respectively allotted. He farther engages to resign his right of suing for the consulship in his absence, and is willing to return to Rome in order to appear as a candidate in the regular form². We have accepted these propositions, provided he withdraws

² So long as Cæsar kept himself within the limits of his province, Pompey treated his designs of invading Italy with the utmost contempt: but Cæsar had no sooner passed the Rubicon, and possessed himself of those several towns mentioned in this letter, than it appeared that Pompey was utterly unprepared to oppose him. Accordingly, he withdrew from Rome into the more southern parts of Italy, with great precipitation, in order, as he pretended, to assemble the troops in those quarters. But his real intention seems to have been to retreat gradually to Brundisium, and from thence to draw the war into Greece. The probable reason of this conduct will be explained in a subsequent note. See rem. 4. on letter xiii. of this book, p. 130. *Ad Att.* vii. 8. *Dia.* xli.

² In the original it is *se præsentem trinundinum petiturum*. Manutius conjectures, from this expression, that it was usual to proclaim the names of the candidates on three market days, at which time the candidates themselves, it is probable, were required to be present.

draws his forces from the several towns above-mentioned, that the senate may securely assemble themselves at Rome, in order to pass a decree for that purpose³. If he should think proper to comply with this proposal: there are hopes of peace; not indeed of a very honourable one, as the terms are imposed upon us: yet any thing is preferable to our present circumstances. But if he should refuse to stand to his overtures, we are prepared for an engagement: but an engagement which Cæsar, after having incurred the general odium of retracting his own conditions, will scarce be able to sustain⁴. The only difficulty will be, to intercept his march to Rome. And this we have a prospect of effecting, as we have raised a very considerable body of troops: and we imagine that he will scarce venture to advance, lest he should lose the two Gauls; every part of those provinces, excepting only the Transpadani, being utterly

³ The expression in the text is somewhat ambiguous: *ut sine metu de iis conditionibus Roma senatus haberi possit*. But the sense is determined by the following passage in a letter to Atticus, where, speaking of these proposals of Cæsar, and of the terms upon which they were accepted, he adds: *id si fecisset* (sc. Cæsar) *responsum est ad urbem nos redituros esse & rem per senatum confecturos*. *Ad Att.* vii. 14.

⁴ The favourable prospect which Cicero gives in this and the following passages of the senate's affairs, is so little consistent with the despondency he expresses in the former part of this letter, that one would be apt to suspect they were two distinct epistles, which some negligent transcriber had blended together.

utterly averse to him. There, are, likewise, six of our legions from Spain, commanded by Afranius and Petreius, and supported by a very powerful body of auxiliaries, that lie in his rear. In short, if he should be so mad as to approach, there is great probability of his being defeated, if we can but preserve Rome from falling into his hands. It has given a very considerable blow to his cause, that Labienus, who had great credit in his army, refused to be an associate with him in his impious enterprize⁵. This illustrious person has not only deserted Cæsar, but joined himself with us: and it is said that many others, of the same party, intend to follow his example.

I have still under my protection all the coast that extends itself from Formiæ. I did not choose to enter more deeply at present into the opposition against Cæsar, that my exhortations, in order to engage him to an accommodation, might be attended with the greater weight. If war, however, must, after all, be our lot, it will be impossible for me, I perceive, to decline the command of some part of our forces⁶. To this uneasy reflection, I must add another: my son-in-law Dolabella has taken party with Cæsar.

I was

⁵ See rem. 1. on let. 3. of this book, p. 101.

⁶ This, however, Cicero contrived to avoid: and though, after much hesitation, he followed Pompey into Greece, he would accept of no command in his army, nor was he present at any engagement.

I was willing to give you this general information of public affairs: but suffer it not, I charge you, to make impressions upon your mind, to the disadvantage of your health. I have strongly recommended you to Aulus Varro, whose disposition to serve you, as well as whose particular friendship to myself, I have thoroughly experienced. I have entreated him to be careful both of your health and of your voyage, and, in a word, to receive you entirely under his protection. I have full confidence that he will comply with my request, as he gave me his promise for that purpose in the most obliging manner.

As I could not enjoy the satisfaction of your company at a season when I most wanted your faithful services, I beg you would not now hasten your return, nor undertake your voyage either during the winter, or before you are perfectly recovered. For, be assured, I shall not think I see you too late, if I see you safe and well. I have heard nothing of you since the letter I received by Marcus Volusius: but, indeed, I do not wonder at it, as I imagine the severity of the winter has likewise prevented my letters from reaching your hands. Take care of yourself, I conjure you, and do not sail till your health and the season shall be favourable.

able. My son is at Formiæ : but Terentia and Tullia are still at Rome. Farewel.

Capua, January the 29th.

LETTER VI.

[A. U. 704.]

QUINTUS CICERO⁷ to TIRO.

YOUR ill state of health occasions us great uneasiness, for though we have the satisfaction to hear that it is not attended with any dangerous symptoms, yet we are informed that your cure must be the work of time. But we cannot think, without much concern, of being longer separated from one whose agreeable company

⁷ The brother of our author. Quintus Cicero, after having passed through the office of prætor, in the year of Rome 692, was elected governor of Asia, where he presided three years, with little credit. He distinguished himself in Gaul, as one of Cæsar's lieutenants; but at the breaking out of the civil war, he followed the fortune of Pompey. However, after the battle of Pharsalia, he made his peace with Cæsar, and returned into Italy. He appears to have been of an haughty, imperious, petulant temper, and, in every view of his character, altogether unamiable. But what gives it a cast of peculiar darkness, is his conduct towards Cicéro, whom he endeavoured to prejudice in the opinion of Cæsar, at a time when they were both the supplicants of his clemency. This, as far as can be collected from the letters to Atticus, was an instance of the basest and most aggravated ingratitude: for, whatever Cicero's failings might be in other respects, he seems to have had none with regard to Quintus, but that of loving him with a tenderness he ill deserved. *Ad Att. i. 15. vi. 6. xi. 8.*

pany we learn to value by the regret we feel at his absence. However, notwithstanding I wish most earnestly to see you, yet I conjure you not to undertake so long a voyage till the season and your health shall render it safe. A tender constitution can ill defend itself against the severity of the weather, even when sheltered under the covert of a warm roof; much less when exposed to all the inclemencies both of sea and land.

Foes to the weak are chilling blasts severe :

as Euripides^s assures us. What credit you may give to that divine poet, I know not; but for myself, I look upon his verses as so many indubitable maxims. In short, if you have any value for me, endeavour the re-establishment of your health, that you may as soon as possible return to us perfectly recovered. Farewel: and continue to love me.—My son salutes you.

LETTER

^s A celebrated Greek dramatic poet, whose death is said to have been occasioned by excessive joy for having obtained the poetic prize at the Olympic games. He flourished about 400 years before the Christian era.



LETTER VII.

[A. U. 704.]

MARCUS CÆLIUS to CICERO.

WAS there ever a more absurd mortal than your friend Pompey, to act in so trifling a manner, after having raised such terrible commotions? Let me ask, on the other hand, whether you ever heard or read of a general, more undaunted in action, or more generous in victory, than our illustrious Cæsar? Look upon his troops, my friend, and tell me whether one would not imagine, by the gaiety of their countenances, that instead of having fought their way through the severest climates in the most inclement season, they had been regaling themselves in all the delicacies of ease and plenty! And now, will you not think that I am immoderately elated? The truth of it is, if you knew the disquietude of my heart, you would laugh at me for thus glorying in advantages in which I have no share. But I cannot explain this to you till we meet, which I hope will be very speedily. For it was Cæsar's intention to order me to Rome, as soon as he should have driven Pompey out of Italy: and this I imagine he

1

has

has already effected, unless the latter should choose to suffer a blockade in Brundisium.

My principal reason for wishing to be at Rome, is, in order to pour forth the fulness of my heart before you ; for full, believe me, it is. And yet the joy of seeing you, may, perhaps, make me, as usual, forget all my complaints, and banish from my thoughts whatever I intended to say. In the mean while, I am obliged (as a punishment, I suppose, for my sins) to march back towards the Alps. I am indebted for this agreeable expedition to a foolish insurrection of the Intemelii*. Bellicenus, whose mother was a slave in the family of Demetrius, and who commands the garrison there, was bribed by the opposite faction to seize and strangle a certain nobleman of that place, called Domitius, a person connected with Cæsar by the rites of hospitality†. The citizens, in resentment

* The inhabitants of Intemelium : a maritime city in Liguria, now called Vintimiglia, in the territories of Genoa.

† Hospitality was considered, from the earliest ages, as in the number of the primary social duties. The sacred historian has recorded a remarkable instance of this kind, in the story of Lot, who would rather have sacrificed his own daughters to the flagitious demands of his infamous fellow-citizens, than give up the supposed travellers whom he had invited to rest *under the shadow of his roof*. Agreeably to this Eastern practice, Homer frequently inculcates the maxim, that strangers are to be received as guests from heaven :

πρὸς γὰρ Δίος εἶσι θεῶν ἄνθρωποι . . .

Ætymol.

ment of this outrage, have taken up arms, and I have the mortification to be commanded to march thither through a deep snow, with four cohorts, in order to quell them. Surely the Domitii are a curse wherever they exist. I wish, at least, that our heaven-descended chief had acted like this other of more humble lineage,

And Horace mentions the hospitable connection, among those of nearest and most tender regard :

Quo sit amore parens, quo frater amandus & hospes.

It will appear by several passages in the following letters, that this generous virtue subsisted among the Romans, when every other was almost utterly extinct. The custom, indeed, of receiving strangers was so generally established, that travellers were scarce ever reduced to the necessity of taking up their lodgings at an inn. Those who were thus entertained, or who exercised the same rites of humanity towards others, were called *hospites* : and they mutually exchanged certain tokens which were termed *testera hospitalitatis*. These were preserved in families, and carefully transmitted from father to son, as memorials and pledges of the same good offices between their descendants. *Gen. xix. Homer. Odys. xiv. 207. Hor. Art. Poet. 313.*

* Cæsar affected to be thought a descendant from Æneas, who, it is well known, was supposed to have received his birth from Venus. Accordingly, in allusion to this pretended divinity of his lineage, he always wore a ring, on which was engraven the figure of that goddess, and with which he used to seal his most important dispatches. The propagating a belief of this kind, must necessarily have proved of singular service to Cæsar's purposes ; as it impressed a peculiar veneration of his person upon the minds of the populace. Anthony very successfully made use of it to instigate them against the conspirators, when he reminded them, in the funeral oration which he spoke over Cæsar's body, that he derived his origin on one side from the ancient kings of Italy, and on the other from the immortal gods. *Suet. in vit. Jul. 6. Dio. xliv. p. 235. 259.*

⁵ Bellienus, commander of the garrison at Intemelium ; and

lineage, and had treated Domitius, at Corfinium⁶, in the same manner that his namesake has been treated at Intemelium. I salute your son. Farewel.

LETTER VIII.

[A. D. 704.]

To Tiro.

I SHALL think myself indebted to you for all that I most value, whenever you give me the satisfaction of seeing you perfectly recovered. In the mean time, I am in the utmost impatience for the return of Menander, whom I lately dispatched with a letter to you. I conjure you, if you have any affection for me, to take care of your health, and let me see you as soon as it shall be thoroughly re-established. Farewel.

April the 10th.

LETTER

and who, as appears from this letter, was the son of a female slave.

⁶ Domitius Enobarbus, a little before the date of this letter, was besieged, in Corfinium, by Cæsar, to whom he was at length obliged to surrender the town. Cæsar treated him with great generosity, and not only gave him his liberty, but restored to him a sum of money which he had lodged in the public treasury of the city. Some account of the occasion of this inveterate enmity which Cælius expresses, towards Domitius, may be seen in the 15th let. of the preceding book, p. 65. *Cæs. de Bel. Civil. i. 23.*

LETTER IX.

[A. U. 704.]

To the same.

MENANDER returned a day later than I expected, which caused me to pass a miserable night, in the most disquieting apprehensions. But though your letter did not remove my uncertainty as to your health, it, in some measure, however, dispelled the gloom which had overcast my mind, as it was an evidence, at least, that you were still in being.

I have bidden adieu to all my literary amusements of every kind ; nor shall I be capable of resuming them again till I see you here. Meanwhile, I desire you would give orders that your physician's demands may be satisfied ; for which purpose I have, likewise, written to Curius. The former, I am told, attributes your distemper to that anxiety which I hear you indulge. But, if you have any regard for me, awaken in your breast that manly spirit of philosophy, for which I so tenderly love and value you. It is impossible you should recover your health, if you do not preserve your spirits, and I entreat you to keep them up, for my sake as well as your own. I desire you, likewise, to retain Acastus, that
you

you may be the more conveniently attended. In a word, my Tiro, preserve yourself for me.

Remember the time, for the performance of my promise⁷ is approaching; but, if you return to Italy before the day I fixed for that purpose, I will execute it immediately. Again and again I bid you farewell.

LETTER X.

[A. U. 704.]

To the same.

ÆGYPTA returned hither on the 12th of April. But, though he assured me that you had lost your fever, and were much mended, it gave me great uneasiness to find, that you were not yet able to write; and the more so, as Herminia, whom I expected the same day, is not yet arrived. The concern I feel on account of your health is beyond all belief. Free me from this disquietude, I conjure you, and, in return, I will ease you of all yours. I would write a longer letter, if I thought you were in a disposition to read one. I will, therefore, only add my request, that you would employ that excellent

⁷ The commentators suppose, with great probability, that this alludes to a promise which Cicero had made to Tiro, of giving him his freedom.

lent understanding for which I so greatly esteem you, in studying what methods may best preserve you both to yourself and me. I repeat it again and again, take care of your health. Farewel.

Since I wrote the above, Hermia is arrived. He delivered your letter to me, which is written, I perceive, with a very unsteady hand. However, I cannot wonder at it, after so severe an illness. I dispatch Ægypta with this; and, as he is a good-natured fellow, and seems to have an affection for you, I desire you would keep him to attend you. He is accompanied with a cook, whom I have, likewise, sent for your use. Farewel.

LETTER XI.

[A. U. 764.]

QUINTUS CICERO to the same.*

I HAVE strongly reproached you in my own mind, for suffering a second packet to come away without inclosing a letter to me. All your own rhetoric will be insufficient to avert the punishment you have incurred by this unkind

* The time when this letter was written is altogether uncertain, and it is placed under the present year, not because there is any good reason for it, but because there is none against it.

kind neglect; and you must have recourse to some elaborate production of your patron's eloquence, to appease my wrath. Though I doubt whether even his oratory will be able to persuade me that you have not been guilty of a very unpardonable omission. I remember it was a custom of my mother, to put a seal upon her empty casks; in order, if any of her liquors should be purloined, that the servants might not pretend the vessel had been exhausted before. In the same manner you should write to me, though you have nothing to say, that your empty letters may be a proof, at least, that you would not defraud me of what I value. I value all, indeed, that come from you, as the very sincere and agreeable dictates of your heart. Farewel, and continue to love me.

LETTER XII.

[A. U. 704.]

TO SERVIUS SULPICIUS¹.

I AM informed, by a letter from my friend Trebatius, that you lately enquired after me, and expressed, at the same time, much concern, that

¹ Servius Sulpicius Rufus was descended from one of the noblest and most considerable families in Rome; several of his ancestors having borne the highest offices and honours of the republic. He was elected to the consular dignity in the
I 4 year

that your indisposition had prevented you from seeing me when I was in the suburbs of Rome. To which he adds, that you are desirous, if I should approach the city, of having a conference with me, in order to deliberate in what manner it becomes us to act in this critical season. I sincerely wish it had been in our power to have conferred together, ere our affairs were utterly ruined, as I am persuaded we might have contributed somewhat to the support of our declining constitution. For, as you had long foreseen these public calamities, so I had the pleasure to hear, whilst I was in Cilicia, that both during your consulate, and afterwards, you always stood forth an advocate for the peace of our country*. But, though I totally concurred with you in these sentiments; yet, upon my return to Rome, it was too late to enforce them. I was, indeed, wholly unsupported in my opinion, and not only found myself among a set of men who were madly

year of Rome 702; to which his eminent skill in the law principally contributed. *Suet. in vit. Tiberii. Dio. xli. p. 148. See rem. 6. on let. 1. B. ix.*

*Sulpicius was well aware, that the recalling Cæsar from his government in Gaul before the expiration of the time for which it was granted him, together with the refusing him the privilege, which he had obtained by an express law, of suing for the consulate in his absence, would inevitably draw on a civil war. And, accordingly, he exerted himself with great zeal in opposing his colleague, Marcus Claudius Marcellus, in the several attempts which he made for that purpose. *Dia. ubi sup.*

madly inflamed with a thirst of war, but was considered, likewise, as one who, by a long absence, was utterly unacquainted with the true state of the commonwealth. But though it seems in vain to hope that our united counsels can now avail the republic, yet, if they can in any degree advantage ourselves, there is no man with whom I should more willingly confer. Not, indeed, with any view of securing the least part of our former dignities, but to consider in what manner we may most worthily deplore their loss: for I well know that your mind is amply stored with those examples of the great, and those maxims of the wise, which ought to guide and animate our conduct in this important conjuncture.

I should have told you before now, that your presence in the senate, or, to speak more properly, in the *convention of senators*³, would be altogether ineffectual, if I had not been apprehensive of giving offence to that person who endeavoured, by instancing your example, to persuade me to join them. I very plainly assured him, however, when he applied to me for this

³ The meeting of the senate, to which Cicero alludes, was held in Rome, after Pompey had deserted Italy. Cicero calls it "a convention of senators," as not admitting the legality of its assembling; both the consuls, together with the principal magistrates of the republic, having withdrawn themselves, together with Pompey, into Greece.

this purpose, that if I went to the senate, I should declare the same opinion concerning peace, and his expedition into Spain, which you had already delivered as yours*.

The flames of war, you see, have spread themselves throughout the whole Roman dominions, and all the world have taken up arms under our respective chiefs. Rome, in the mean time, destitute of all rule or magistracy, of all justice or control, is wretchedly abandoned to the dreadful inroads of rapine and devastation. In this general anarchy and confusion, I know not what to expect: I scarce know even what to wish. But, notwithstanding I had determined to retire to a farther distance from Rome, (as, indeed, I cannot even hear it named without reluctance) yet I pay so great a regard to your judgment, that, if you think any advantage may arise from our interview, I am willing to return. In the mean time,

* Cicero had an interview with Cæsar, in the return of the latter from Brundisium, after Pompey had abandoned that city, and fled into Greece. Cæsar laboured to prevail with our author to return to Rome, and take his seat in the senate. But Cicero acted upon this occasion with a spirit, which we cannot but regret should have ever deserted him. He declared he would not attend the senate, but upon the terms of being at full liberty to deliver his sentiments, which he confessed were utterly against carrying the war into Spain, and altogether in favour of peace. Cæsar as plainly assured him, that this was what he could not suffer; and recommending it to him to think better of the matter, the conference ended:

time, I have requested Trebatius to receive your commands, if you should be desirous of communicating any to me by his mouth. I should be glad, indeed, that you would employ either him, or any other of your friends whom you can trust upon this occasion, as I would not lay you under the necessity of going out of Rome, or be myself obliged to advance much nearer to it. Perhaps I attribute too much to my own judgment, though I am sure I do not to yours, when I add, that I am persuaded the world will approve whatever measures we shall agree upon. Farewel.

LETTER XIII.

[A. U. 704.]

MARCUS CÆLIUS, to CICERO.

THE melancholy cast of your letter affects me with the deepest concern; and though you do not declare your intentions in direct and explicit terms, yet you leave me no room to doubt of what kind they are^s. I thus instantly, therefore, take up my pen, in order to conjure you, my dear friend, by the tenderness you bear to your children, and by all that is
most

ended: "very little," says Cicero, "to the satisfaction of
"Cæsar, and very much to my own." *Ad Att.* ix. 18.

^s That Cicero had formed a resolution of following Pompey into Greece.

most valuable in your esteem, not to resolve upon any measures so totally inconsistent with your true welfare. Heaven and earth will be my witness, that I have offered you no advice, nor sent you any prophetic admonitions which I had not well and maturely considered. It was not, indeed, till after I had an interview with Cæsar, and had fully discovered his sentiments, that I informed you in what manner he would most assuredly employ his victory. If you imagine he will be as easy in pardoning his enemies, as he was reasonable in offering them terms of accommodation, believe me, you will find that you have made a very erroneous calculation. His heart and his expressions breathe the severest resentment; and he left Rome, highly incensed both against the senate and tribunes⁶. In plain truth, he is by no means
in

⁶ Cæsar, upon his return to Rome, after the siege of Brundisium, proposed to the senate that an embassy should be sent to Pompey, with proposals of peace. This the house agreed to: but when the question was moved concerning the persons to be appointed for this purpose, none of the members would undertake that commission. Cæsar endeavoured, likewise, to procure a law for granting him the money in the public treasury, in order to carry on the war against Pompey. But Metellus, the tribune, interposing his negative, Cæsar obtained his purpose by a shorter method. For breaking open the temple of Saturn, in which this money was preserved, he first plundered his country of her patrimony, (says Florus) and then of her liberty. Having thus possessed himself of an immense wealth, he immediately set out upon his expedition against Afranius and Petreius, the lieutenants of Pompey in Spain. *Cæs. Bel. Civil. i. 33, Dio. xli. Flor. iv. 2.*

in a disposition to shew the least favour to his adversaries. If you have any tenderness, therefore, to yourself, to your son, or to your family in general; if either my friendship, or the alliance of that worthy man who has married your daughter, can give us a claim to some influence over you, let me conjure you not to disconcert the measures we have taken to preserve our fortunes, nor lay us under the miserable alternative of either abandoning a cause upon which our own safety depends, or of impiously wishing well to one which must necessarily be inconsistent with yours. Consider, you have already disgusted Pompey, by this your delay in joining him; and would it not be utterly impolitic, after having so cautiously avoided giving offence to Cæsar, when his affairs were yet doubtful, to declare against him now that they are attended with such uncommon success? Would it not be the highest indiscretion to join with those who are fleeing before his troops, after having refused to act in concert with them, when they seemed inclined to resist? In fine, my friend, let me entreat you, whilst you are endeavouring to escape the imputation of being deficient in patriotism, to be careful lest you incur the censure of being deficient in prudence. But, after

2 Dolabella.

ter all, if I cannot wholly dissuade you from your resolution, suffer me at least to prevail with you to suspend the execution of it till the event of our expedition into Spain; which I shall venture, however, to assure you, will most certainly fall into our hands upon the very first appearance of Cæsar's troops. And what hopes the opposite party can possibly entertain after the loss of that province, I am perfectly unable to discover. As far, likewise, is it beyond my penetration, what motive can induce you to join with those whose affairs are thus evidently desperate. This design, which you so obscurely intimated in your letter, had reached the knowledge of Cæsar: and the first thing he said, after the usual salutations had passed between us, was to inform me of what he had heard concerning you. I professed myself entirely ignorant that you had any such thoughts: but if you had, I said, it was my request that he would write to you in such terms as might most probably prevail with you to renounce them. I have received his commands to attend him into Spain; otherwise, I would instantly have come to you, wherever you had been, in order to have pressed these reasons upon you in person, and, indeed, to have retained you in Italy by absolute force. Consider well your scheme, my dear Cicero, ere you
carry

carry it into execution, lest you obstinately, and against all remonstrances, involve both yourself and your family in utter and irrecoverable ruin. But if you are affected by the reproaches of those who style themselves patriots, or cannot submit to be a witness of the insolence of some in the opposite party, let me advise you to retreat into a neutral city, till our contests shall be decided. This will be acting with a prudence which I cannot but own to be a laudable one, and which Cæsar, I am sure, will by no means disapprove. Farewel.

LETTER XIV.

[A. U. 704.]

CICERO to MARCUS CÆLIUS.

I SHOULD have been extremely affected by your letter, if reason had not banished from my heart all its disquietudes, and despair of seeing better days had not long since hardened it against every new impression of grief. Yet strong as I must acknowledge my despondency to be, I am not sensible, however, that I said any thing in my last which could justly raise the suspicion you have conceived. What more did my letter contain than general expressions of dissatisfaction at the sad prospect of our affairs? a prospect which cannot, surely, suggest to your own mind less gloomy apprehensions than it presents to mine.

mine. For I am too well persuaded of the force of your penetration, to imagine that my judgment can discover consequences which lie concealed from yours. But I am surprised that you, who ought to know me perfectly well, should believe me capable of acting with so little policy as to abandon a rising fortune, for one in its decline, at least, if not utterly fallen; or so variable as not only to destroy at once all the interest I have established with Cæsar, but to deviate even from myself, by engaging at last in a civil war, which it has hitherto been my determined maxim to avoid. Where, then, did you discover those unhappy resolutions you impute to me? Perhaps you collected them from what I said of secluding myself in some sequestered solitude. And, indeed, you are sensible how ill I can submit, I do not say to endure, but even to be a witness of the insolencies of the successful party; a sentiment, my friend, which once, I am sure, was yours no less than mine. But in vain would I retire, whilst I preserve the title^a with which I am at present distinguished, and continue to be attended with this embarrassing parade of lictors^b.

Were

^a That of *Imperator*. See the first rem. on the first let. of B. i.

^b The lictors were a sort of beadles, who carried the ensigns of magistracy before the consuls, proconsuls, and other supreme officers of the state. These lictors continued to attend

Were I eased of this troublesome honour, there is no part of Italy so obscure, in which I should not be well contented to hide myself. Yet these my laurels, unwelcome as they are to myself, are the object both of the envy and the raillery of my malevolent enemies². Nevertheless, under all these temptations of withdrawing from so disgusting a scene, I never once entertained a thought of leaving Italy without the previous approbation of yourself and some others. But you know the situation of my several villas; and as it is among these I am obliged to divide my time, that I may not incommode³ my friends, the preference I give to those which stand on the sea coast, has raised a suspicion, that I am meditating a flight into Greece. If peace, indeed, were to be found in that country, I should not, perhaps, be unwilling to undertake

tend the proconsul after his return from his government, if he aspired (as Cicero did) to the honour of a triumph.

² Cicero undoubtedly gave, upon this occasion, but too much colour to the censure of his enemies: for it could not but have a very strange appearance, that he should preserve the thoughts of a triumph, at a time when his country was bleeding with a civil war. But as he was extremely ambitious of this honour, he was equally unwilling to renounce it; still flattering himself, perhaps, that some accommodation between Cæsar and Pompey would afford him an opportunity of enjoying what he so strongly desired.

³ That is, by continuing in the suburbs of Rome; where, as he had no house of his own, he must necessarily be a guest to some of his friends. For he could not enter the city without relinquishing his claim to a triumph.

take the voyage: but to enter upon it in order to engage in a war, would be altogether inconsistent, surely, with my principles and character; especially as it would be taking up arms, not only against a man who, I hope, is perfectly well satisfied with my conduct, but in favour of one whom it is now impossible I should ever render so. In a word, as I made no secret to you, when you met me at my Cuman villa, of the conversation which had passed between Ampius and myself, you could not be at a loss to guess my sentiments upon this head: and, indeed, you plainly saw how utterly averse I was to the scheme of Pompey's deserting Rome. Did I not then affirm, that there was nothing I would not suffer, rather than be induced to follow the civil war beyond the limits of Italy?

And

* Cicero perpetually condemns the conduct of Pompey, in first retiring from Rome, and afterwards removing the seat of war out of Italy. But with regard to the former, it appears, even from our author himself, that it was attended with a very good effect, and which Pompey, it is probable, had in view when he resolved upon that measure. For it raised a more general indignation against Cæsar to see Pompey thus fleeing before him, and rendering the people more averse from favouring his cause. *Fugiens Pompeius mirabiliter homines movet. Quid quæris? alia causa facta est: nihil jam concedendum putant Cæsari.* Ad Att. vii. 11. And as to Pompey's leaving Italy, he seems, as far as can be judged at this distance of time, to have acted upon a very rational plan. Pompey's forces were much inferior to Cæsar's: and even the few troops which he had, were such as he could by no means depend upon. As he was master of a very considerable fleet, there was great probability of his being able to prevent Cæsar from following him into Greece: at the same time

And has any event since happened, that could give me just reason of changing my sentiments? On the contrary, has not every circumstance concurred to fix me in them?

Be assured, (and I am well persuaded it is what you already believe) that the single aim of my actions in these our public calamities, has been to convince the world, that my great and earnest desire was to preserve the peace of our country; and when this could no longer be hoped, that there was nothing I wished more, than to avoid taking any part in the civil war.

time that Afranius and Petreius were in the rear of Cæsar, with an army composed of approved and veteran forces. Italy was supplied with corn from the eastern provinces, especially from Egypt: which Pompey was in hopes of cutting off by means of his fleet. These provinces, together with the neighbouring kings, were likewise greatly in his interest: and he had reason to expect very large subsidies from them, both of men and money. Perhaps, therefore, when these several circumstances shall be duly weighed, it will not appear that Pompey determined injudiciously, when he resolved to cross the Adriatic. *Ad Att.* vii. 13. ix. 9. x. 8. *Dio*, xli. p. 158.

⁵ Notwithstanding Cicero's strong assertions that he had no thoughts of joining Pompey, he had actually determined to do so a few days before he received the preceding letter from Cælius: as appears by an epistle to Atticus, wherein he expressly tells him, that he was only waiting for a fair wind. But before he wrote the present letter, he had received some news not altogether favourable to Pompey's party: in consequence of which he renounced his former design, and was now determined (though he does not think proper to own it in this letter) to retire to Malta, as a neutral island. This resolution, however, he soon afterwards rejected, and resumed his first intentions of following Pompey into Greece. And this scheme he at length executed. *Ad Att.* x. 8. 9. See rem. 4. p. 141. of this vol.

war. And I shall never, I trust, have reason to repent of firmly persevering in these sentiments. It was the frequent boast, I remember, of my friend Hortensius, that he had never taken up arms in any of our civil dissensions. But I may glory in the same honest neutrality, with a much better grace: for that of Hortensius was suspected to have arisen from the timidity of his temper; whereas mine, I think, cannot be imputed to any motive of that unworthy kind. Nor am I in the least terrified by those considerations, with which you so faithfully and affectionately endeavour to alarm my fears. The truth of it is, there is no calamity so severe, to which we are not all of us, it should seem, in this universal anarchy and confusion, equally and unavoidably exposed. But if I could have averted this dreadful storm from the republic, at the expence of my own private and domestic enjoyments, even of those, my friend, which you so emphatically recommend to my care, I should most willingly have made the sacrifice. As to my son, (who I rejoice to find has a share in your concern) I shall leave him a sufficient patrimony in that honour with which my name will be remembered, so long as the republic shall subsist: and if it be destroyed, I shall have the consolation at least to reflect, that he will suffer nothing more

more than must be the common lot of every Roman. With regard to that dear and excellent young man my son-in-law, whose welfare you entreat me to consider; can you once doubt, knowing as you perfectly do the tenderness I bear, not only for him, but for Tullia, that I am infinitely anxious upon his account! I am the more so indeed, as it was my single consolation, amidst these general distractions, that they might possibly prove a means of protecting him from those inconveniences in which his too generous spirit had unhappily involved him⁶. How much he suffered from them, during the time he continued in Rome, as well as how little that circumstance was to my credit, are points which I choose to leave to your enquiry.

Affairs in Spain, I doubt not, will terminate in the manner you mention. But I neither wait the event of them in order to determine my conduct;

⁶ It should seem, by this passage, that Dolabella, who had contracted very considerable debts, was at this time under some difficulties from his creditors: from whom Cicero flattered himself that Cæsar's power would have protected him. Some commentators, however, instead of *liberalitate*, adopted in this translation, read *libertate*; and suppose that Cicero alludes to the prosecution in which Dolabella had been engaged against Appius: of which a detail has been given in the preceding remarks. But whichever be the true word, the sentiment is observable. For surely it was utterly unworthy of Cicero, to find the least consolation amidst the calamities of his country, in the hope that they might prove a screen to Dolabella, either from the justice of his creditors, or the malice of his enemies.

duct⁷; nor am I acting, in any other respect, with the least artifice. If the republic should be preserved, I shall certainly hold my rank in it: but if it should be subverted, you yourself, I dare say, will join me in my intended solitude. But this latter supposition is, perhaps, the vain and groundless surmise of a disturbed imagination; and affairs, after all, may take a happier turn than I am apt to presage. I remember the despondency which prevailed in my earlier days, amongst our patriots of more advanced years⁸: possibly my present apprehensions may be of the same cast, and no other than the effect of a common weakness incident to old age. Heaven grant they may prove so! And yet you have heard, I suppose, that a robe of magistracy is in the looms for Oppius; and that Curtius has hopes of being invested with the double-dyed purple⁹: but the principal workman,

⁷ The contrary of this was the truth: for Cicero was, at this time, determined to wait the event of Cæsar's expedition against the lieutenants of Pompey in Spain. And for this purpose he had thoughts of retiring to Malta: *Melitim, opinor, capessamus* (says he to Atticus) *dum quid in Hispania.* *Ad Att.* x. 9.

⁸ This alludes to the contentions between Sylla and Marius; which, notwithstanding the probability of their terminating in the total subversion of the constitution, the republic however survived.

⁹ Oppius and Curtius were persons who probably had distinguished themselves in no other manner than as being the servile instruments of Cæsar's ambition. The former, however, appears to have been in high credit during Cæsar's usurpation.

man, it seems, somewhat delays him¹⁰. I throw in this little pleasantry, to let you see that I can smile in the midst of my indignation.

Let me advise you to enter into the affair which I formerly mentioned concerning Dolabella, with the same warmth as if it were your own. I have only to add, that you may depend upon it, I shall take no hasty or inconsiderate measures. But to whatever part of the world I may direct my course, I entreat you to protect both me and mine, agreeably to your honour, and to our mutual friendship. Farewel.

LETTER

usurpation : but the latter is often mentioned in the letters to Atticus with great contempt. Servius, in his comment on the 7th book of the *Æneid*, informs us that the colour of the augural robe was a mixture of purple and scarlet : it is probable, therefore, from the expression which Cicero employs, that Curtius had a promise of being advanced into the sacred college. It might well discourage Cicero's hopes of better days, when he saw men of this character singled out to fill the most important dignities of the republic. And, indeed, it was an earnest of what Cæsar afterwards practised, when he became the sole fountain of all preferment : which he distributed in the most arbitrary manner, without any regard to rank or merit. *Nullos non honores*, says one of the historians, *ad libidinem cepit & dedit.*—*Civitate donatos, & quosdam e semibarbaris Gallorum, recepit in curiam.* Suet. in *Jul.* 76.

¹⁰ *Sed eum infector moratur.* This witticism, which turns upon the equivocal sense of the word *infector*, could not be preserved in the translation. It is probable that Cæsar had gained Curtius, as he had many others, by some seasonable application to his wants or his avarice : for Cicero seems to use this word in allusion to the verb from whence it is derived, as well as in its appropriated meaning ; *inficio* signifying both to *corrupt* and to *dye*.

LETTER XV.

[A. U. 704.]

TO SERVIUS SULTICIUS.

I RECEIVED your letter at my Cuman villa, on the 29th of April. I find you shortened it upon the supposition that Philotimus would deliver it into my hands; whom, it seems, you had instructed to give me a more full and explicit information. But he did not execute his commission with the care he ought: for instead of bringing your letter to me himself, he sent it by another person. However, this omission was supplied by a visit from your wife and son: who are both of them extremely desirous you should come hither: and, indeed, pressed me to write to you for that purpose.

You desire to know what measures I would recommend to you, in this critical conjuncture. Believe me, I am in a situation of mind which renders me much more in need of a guide myself, than capable of conducting another. But were it otherwise, how should I venture to offer my advice to a man of your distinguished wisdom and dignity? This, however, I will say, that if the question be, in what manner it becomes us to act; the answer is plain and obvious: but what will

will be most expedient for our interest, is a point far less easy to determine. In short, if we think, as I am sure we ought, that honour and true interest must ever point the same way, there can be no dispute what path we have to pursue.

You imagine that we are both of us in the same circumstances; and most certainly we both committed the same mistake, when we honestly declared our opinions in favour of peace. All our counsels, indeed, equally tended to prevent a civil war; and as this was the true interest of Cæsar, we thought he would consider himself as obliged to us for supporting pacific measures. How much we were deceived is evident, you see, from the present posture of affairs. But you look, I know, much farther, and take into your view, not only what has already happened, or is now transacting, but the whole future progress and final tendency of these commotions. If, then, you should determine to remain in Rome, you must either approve the measures which are there carrying on, or be present at a scene which your heart condemns. But the former seems an unworthy part, and the latter, I think, altogether an unsafe one. My opinion is consequently for retiring: and the single point is, whither to direct our course? But as public affairs were never in a more desperate situation, so never was there

there a question attended with greater difficulties: whichever way one turns it, some important objection occurs. If you have resolved upon any scheme which is not consistent with mine, I could wish you would spare yourself the trouble of a journey hither: but if you are inclined to participate of my measures, I will wait your arrival¹. I beg you would be as expeditious for that purpose as you conveniently can: a request in which both Servius and Posthumia equally join². Farewel.

LETTER XVI.

[A. U. 704.]

TO RUFUS³.

THOUGH I never once doubted that I enjoyed the highest rank in your friendship, yet every day's experience strengthens me in that persuasion. You assured me, I remember, in one
of

¹ Sulpicius had an interview with Cicero at his Cuman villa, soon after the date of this letter; but the former was so much dispirited, and so full of fears, that Cicero could not bring him to any determination. They broke up their conference, therefore, without coming to any explicit resolution: for though Cicero's was already formed, he did not think proper to avow his design of joining Pompey, to a man whom he found in so timid and fluctuating a state of mind. *Ad Att.* x. 14.

² The son and wife of Sulpicius. Posthumia was one of those many ladies who found Cæsar as irresistible a gallant as he was a soldier. *Suet. in Jul.* 50.

³ See rem. 1. p. 91.

of your letters, that you should be more assiduous in giving me proofs of your affection now, than when you were my quæstor, as they would more indisputably appear to be the free result of a disinterested esteem. And though nothing, I thought, could exceed your good offices to me in the province, yet you have since fully evinced the sincerity of this promise. Accordingly, it was with great pleasure I observed the friendly impatience with which you expected my arrival in Rome, when I had thoughts of going thither, as well as the joy you afterwards expressed at my having laid aside that design, when affairs had taken a different turn from what you imagined. But your last letter was particularly acceptable to me, as an instance both of your affection and your judgment. It afforded me much satisfaction, indeed, to find, on the one hand, that you consider your true interest (as every great and honest mind ought always to consider it) as inseparably connected with a rectitude of conduct: and on the other, that you promise to accompany me, whithersoever I may determine to steer. Nothing can be more agreeable to my inclination, nor, I trust, to your honour, than your executing this resolution. Mine has been fixed for some time, and it was not with any design of concealing

it from you, that I did not acquaint you with it before. My only reason was, that, in public conjunctures of this kind, the communication of one's intentions to a friend, looks like admonishing, or rather, indeed, pressing him to share in the difficulties and the dangers of one's schemes. I cannot, however, but willingly embrace an offer which proceeds from so affectionate and generous a disposition: though I must add, at the same time, (that I may not transgress the modest limits I have set to my requests of this nature) that I by no means urge your compliance. If you shall think proper to pursue the measures you propose, I shall esteem myself greatly indebted to you: if not, I shall very readily excuse you. For though I shall look upon the former as a tribute which you could not well refuse to my friendship, yet I shall consider the latter as the same reasonable concession to your fears. It must be owned, there is great difficulty how to act upon this occasion. It is true, what honour would direct is very apparent, but the prudential part is far from being a point so clear. However, if we would act up, as we ought, to the dictates of that philosophy we have mutually cultivated, we cannot once hesitate in thinking that the worthiest measures must, upon the whole, be the most expedient.

If

If you are inclined, then, to embark with me, you must come hither immediately: but if it should not suit you to be thus expeditious, I will send you an exact account of my route. To be short, in whatever manner you may decide, I shall always consider you as my friend: but much more so, if you should determine as I wish. Farewel.

LETTER XVII.

[A. U. 704.]

TO TERENTIA.

I AM entirely free from the disorder in my stomach: which was the more painful, as I saw it occasioned both you and that dear girl whom I love better than my life, so much uneasiness. I discovered the cause of this complaint the night after I left you, having discharged a great quantity of phlegm. This gave me so immediate a relief, that I cannot but believe I owe my cure to some heavenly interposition: to Apollo, no doubt, and Æsculapius. You will offer up your grateful tributes, therefore, to these restoring powers, with all the ardency of your usual devotion.

I am this moment embarked⁴: and have procured

⁴ In order to join Pompey in Greece, who had left Italy about three months before the date of this letter. A late learned

cured a ship which I hope is well able to perform her voyage. As soon as I shall have finished this letter, I propose to write to several of my friends, recommending you and our dearest Tullia in the strongest terms to their protection. In the mean time I should exhort you to keep up your spirits, if I did not know that both of you are animat-
ed

learned and most able panegyrist of Cicero assures us, that he took this measure, as choosing to "follow the cause which he thought to be the best, and preferring the consideration of duty to that of his safety." Cicero deserves so highly from every friend to genius and literature, that it is no wonder Dr. Middleton should not always speak of him with the cool impartiality of an unbiassed historian. But it is the principal purpose of these remarks, to inquire, without prejudices of any kind, into the real merit of Cicero's political character: and as his conduct during this important crisis will evidently shew the strength and measure of his patriotism, I shall trace it from the breaking out of the civil war to the present period, and then leave the facts to speak for themselves.

Upon the news that Cæsar was marching into Italy, Pompey was appointed general in chief of the republican forces, and the principal magistrates, together with those who were invested with proconsular power, were distributed into different cantons of Italy in order to raise troops, for the defence of the common cause. Cicero had his particular district assigned him among the rest; but instead of executing this important commission with spirit and vigour, he remained altogether inactive at his several villas in that part of Italy. And this he signified to Cæsar, by means of their common friend Trebatius, who had written to him in Cæsar's name, in order to prevail with him to return to Rome. *Rescripti ad Trebatium quam illud hoc tempore esset difficile: me tamen in prædiis meis esse, neque delectum ullum, neque negotium suscepisse. Ad Att. vii. 37.* Pompey, in the mean time, was pressing Cicero to join him: but he excused himself by representing that whilst he was actually on the road for that purpose, he was informed that he could not proceed without the danger of being intercepted by Cæsar's troops. *Epist. 2. Cicer.*

ed with a more than manly fortitude. And, indeed, I hope there is a fair prospect of your remaining in Italy without any inconvenience, and of my returning to the defence of the republic, in conjunction with those who are no less faithfully devoted to its interest.

After

Cicer. ad Pom. apud epist. ad Att. viii. Cicero, however, is so ingenuous as to acknowledge, in the same letter to Pompey, that so long as there were hopes that the negotiations for a peace would be attended with success, he thought it a justifiable piece of prudence not to be too active in forwarding the preparations that were carrying on against Cæsar; remembering, he says, how much he had formerly suffered from the resentment of the latter in the affair of his exile. This was explaining, at once, the true principle of his whole conduct, and he avows it more expressly in a letter to Atticus. *Non simul cum Pompeio mare transierimus? Omnino non poterimus; exstat ratio dierum, sed tamen (fateamur enim quod est) fefellit ea me res, quæ fortasse non debuit, sed fefellit; pacem putavi fore: quæ si esset, iratum mihi Cæsarum esse, cum idem amicus esset Pompeio, nolui. Senseram enim quam idem essent. Hoc verens in hanc tarditatem incidi.* *Ad Att. x. 8.* Pompey, however, had no sooner set sail for Greece, than Cicero was struck with the consciousness of his having acted an unworthy part: *Postquam Pompeius et consules ex Italia, exierunt, non angor,* says he, *sed ardeo dolore—non sum, inquam, mihi crede, mentis compos, tantum mihi dedecoris admisisse videor.* *Ad Att. ix. 6.* After several deliberations, therefore, he was determined, he tells Atticus, to follow Pompey, without waiting the event of Cæsar's arms in Spain. *Ad Att. ix. 19. x. 8.* This resolution, nevertheless, soon gave way to a second; for having received some accounts which contradicted a former report that had been spread concerning the advantageous posture of Pompey's affairs, Cicero renounced his intention of joining him, and now purposed to stand neuter. *Ad Att. x. 9.* But a new turn in favour of Pompey seems to have brought Cicero back to his former scheme: for, in a subsequent letter to Atticus, wherein he mentions some reasons to believe that Pompey's affairs

After earnestly recommending to you the care of your health, let me make it my next request, that you would dispose of yourself in such of my villas as are at the greatest distance from the army. And if provisions should become scarce in Rome, I should think you will find it most convenient to remove with your servants to Arpinum⁵.

The

affairs went well in Spain, and takes notice, likewise, of some disgust which the populace expressed towards Cæsar in the theatre, we find him resuming his design of openly uniting with Pompey: and accordingly he resolved to join those who were maintaining Pompey's cause in Sicily. *Ad Att. x. 12.* It does not appear, by any of his letters, upon what motive he afterwards exchanged his plan for that of sailing directly to Pompey's camp in Greece: which, after various debates with himself, he at length, we see, executed. There is a passage, however, in Cæsar's Commentaries, which, perhaps, will render it probable, that the news which, about this time, was confidently spread at Rome, that Cæsar's army had been almost totally defeated in Spain, was the determining reason that sent Cicero to Pompey. The fact was, that Afranius and Petreius had gained some advantages over Cæsar; but as they magnified them, in their letters to Rome, much beyond the truth, several persons of note, who had hitherto been fluctuating in their resolutions, thought it was now high time to declare themselves, and went off immediately to Pompey. *Hæc Afranius, Petreiusque, et eorum amici, pleniora etiam atque uberiora Romam ad suos perscribebant. Multa rumor fingeat: ut pene bellum confectum videretur. Quibus literis nunciisque Romam perlatis—multi ex Italia ad Cn. Pompeium proficiscebantur; alii ut principes talem nunciam attulisse; alii nec eventum belli expectasse, aut ex omnibus novissimi venisse viderentur.* De Bel. Civil. i. 53.

⁵ A city in the country of the Volsci, a district of Italy which now comprehends part of the Campagna di Roma, and of the Terra di Lavoro. Cicero was born in this town, which still subsists under the name of Arpino.

The amiable young Cicero most tenderly salutes you. Again and again I bid you farewell.

June the 11th.

LETTER XVIII.

[A. U. 704.]

MARCUS CÆLIUS TO CICERO.

WAS⁶ it for this that I followed Cæsar into Spain? Why was I not rather at Formiæ, that I might have accompanied you to Pompey? But I was infatuated; and it was my aversion to Appius⁷, together with my friendship for Curio, that gradually drew me into this cursed cause. Nor were you entirely unaccessary to my error: for that night, when I called upon
you

⁶ This letter confirms the character that has been given of Cælius, in a former remark*, and shews him to have been of a temper extravagantly warm and impetuous. The resentment and indignation with which it is animated, was owing to some disappointments that he had met with from Cæsar, who had not distinguished him agreeably to his expectations. Cælius, therefore, who was one of the prætors for the present year, endeavoured to take his revenge by opposing the execution of certain laws which Cæsar had procured.—His attempts for this purpose having created great disturbances in Rome, he was not only deposed from his office, but expelled the senate: and the present letter seems to have been written immediately upon that event. *Dio.* xlii. p. 195. *Cæs. de Bel. Civil.* iii. 20.

⁷ Appius engaged on the side of Pompey, as Curio was a warm partisan of Cæsar. For the occasion of Cælius's resentment against Appius, see B. vi. let. 14. p. 61. of this vol.

* See rem. 4. vol. 1. p. 272.

VOL. II.

L

you in my way to Ariminum⁸, why did you forget the friend, when you were gloriously acting the patriot, and not dissuade me from the purpose of my journey, at the same time that you commissioned me to urge Cæsar to pacific measures? Not that I have an ill opinion of the cause; but, believe me, perdition itself were preferable to being a witness of the insufferable behaviour of these his insolent partisans⁹. They have rendered themselves so generally odious, that we should long since have been driven out of Rome, were it not for the apprehensions which people have conceived of the cruel intentions of your party¹⁰. There is not, at this juncture, a man in Rome, except a few rascally usurers¹¹, who does not wish well
to

⁸ In order to join Cæsar. Cœlius was one of the party with Curio and Antony, when they fled to Cæsar. *Dio. xli. p. 153.* See the first letter of this book, and rem. 4. on the same.

⁹ The chiefs of Cæsar's party at Rome.

¹⁰ When Pompey left Rome, upon the approach of Cæsar, he declared that he should treat all those as enemies who did not follow him: a declaration, it was imagined, which he would most rigorously have fulfilled, if fortune had put it in his power. *Cæs. Bel. Civil. i. Cic. Epist. passim.*

¹¹ As great numbers of those who embraced the party of Cæsar were deeply involved in debt, it was apprehended that they would procure a law for a general discharge from their creditors. But Cæsar adjusted matters by a more prudent method, and in such a manner as to facilitate the payment of these loans with little prejudice to those who had advanced them. It appears that Cæsar rendered himself, by these means, extremely acceptable to those persons at Rome, who dealt in this sort of pecuniary commerce. *Cæs. de Bel. Civil. i.*

to Pompey ; and I have already brought over to your cause, not only those among the plebeian families who were in the interest of Cæsar, but the whole populace in general. But you will ask, perhaps, what can this avail us now ? Wait the event, my friend : victory shall attend you in spite of yourselves¹². For surely a profound lethargy has locked up all the senses of your party, as they do not yet seem sensible how open we lie to an attack, and how little capable we are of making any considerable opposition. It is by no means from an interested motive that I offer my assistance, but merely in resentment of the unworthy usage I have received : and resentment is a passion which usually carries me, you know, the greatest lengths.---But what are you doing on the other side the water¹³ ? Are you imprudently waiting to give the enemy battle ? What Pompey's forces may be, I know not : but Cæsar's, I am sure, are accustomed to action, and inured to all the hardships of the most severe campaigns. Farewel.

LETTER

¹² This boast of Cælius ended in nothing but his own destruction. For, not succeeding in his attempts at Rome, he withdrew to Thurii, a maritime town on the gulph of Tarentum ; where, endeavouring to raise an insurrection in favour of Pompey, he was murdered by the soldiers of Cæsar's faction. *Dio. xlii. p. 196.*

¹³ Cicero was at this time in Pompey's camp in Greece.]

LETTER XIX.

[A. U. 704.]

DOLABELLA¹ TO CICERO.

I SHALL rejoice to hear you are well: I have the satisfaction to inform you, that both Tullia and myself are perfectly so. Terentia, indeed, has been somewhat indisposed, but is now, I am assured, perfectly recovered. As to the rest of your family, they are all of them in the state you wish.

It would be doing me great injustice to suspect that I have at any time advised you to join with me in the cause of Cæsar, or at least to stand neuter, more with a view to the advantage of my own party, than of your interest. But now that fortune has declared on our side², it is impossible I should be supposed to recommend this alternative for any other reason,
but

¹ The reader has already been apprised, in the foregoing remarks, that Dolabella was son-in-law to Cicero. He was a young man of a warm, enterprising, factious disposition, and one of the most active partisans of Cæsar's cause. His character, conduct, and fortune will be more particularly marked out as occasion shall offer, in the farther progress of these observations.

² Cæsar having defeated Afranius and Petreius, the lieutenants of Pompey, in Spain, was at this time with his army before Dyrrachium, a maritime city in Macedonia, now called Duræsi.

but because the duty I owe you will not suffer me to be silent. Whether my advice, therefore, shall meet with your approbation or not, you will at least be so just as to believe, that it proceeds, my dear Cicero, from an honest intention, and from a heart most sincerely desirous of your welfare.

You see that neither the lofty title with which Pompey is distinguished³, nor the credit of his former illustrious actions, nor the advantages he so frequently boasted, of having kings and nations in the number of his clients, have any thing availed him. On the contrary, he has suffered a disgrace which never, perhaps, attended any other Roman general. For, after having lost both the Spains⁴, together with a veteran army, and, after having also been driven out of Italy, he is now so strongly invested on all sides, that he cannot execute what the meanest soldier has often performed; he cannot make even an honourable retreat⁵. You will consider, then, agreeably to

³ When he was a very young man, he was honoured by Sylla with the title of Pompey the Great; a title which he ever afterwards assumed.

⁴ This country was divided by the Romans into the Nearer and the Farther Spain; that part which lay near the Pyrenees and the river Ibro being comprehended under the former appellation, and all beyond that river, under the latter.

⁵ It is probable that some slight success which Cæsar had obtained before Dyrrachium, had been greatly magnified at

to your usual prudence, what hopes can possibly remain either to him or to yourself; and the result will evidently point out the measures which are most expedient for you to pursue. Let me entreat you, if Pompey has already extricated himself out of the danger in which he was involved, and taken refuge in his fleet, that you would now at least think it time to consult your own interest, in preference to that of any other man. You have performed every thing which gratitude and friendship can expect, or the party you approved can require. What remains, then, but to sit down quietly under the republic, as it now subsists, rather than, by vainly contending for the old constitution, to be absolutely deprived of both? If Pompey, therefore, should be driven from his present post, and obliged to retreat still farther, I conjure you, my dear Cicero, to withdraw to Athens, or to any other city unconcerned in the war. If you should comply with this advice, I beg you would give me notice, that I may fly to embrace you, if by any means it should be in my power. Your own interest with Cæsar, together with the natural generosity of his temper, will render it extremely

Rome: for Pompey was so far from being in the situation which Dolabella here represents him, that Cæsar found himself obliged to abandon the siege of this city, and to retire into Thessaly. *Dio. xli. p. 177.*

tremely easy for you to obtain any honourable conditions you shall demand; and I am persuaded that my solicitations will have no inconsiderable weight for this purpose.

I rely upon your honour and your humanity to take care that this messenger may safely return to me with your answer. Farewel.

LETTER XX.

[A. U. 704.]

TO TERENTIA⁶.

I AM informed, by the letters of my friends, as well as by other accounts, that you have had a sudden attack of a fever. I entreat you, therefore, to employ the utmost care in re-establishing your health.

The early notice you gave me of Cæsar's letter was extremely agreeable to me; and let me desire you would send me the same expeditious intelligence, if any thing should hereafter occur that concerns me to know. Once more I conjure you to take care of your health. Farewel.

June the 2d.

LETTER

⁶ " This letter was written by Cicero, in the camp at Dyrrachium; for there is one extant to Atticus later than this, and dated from the camp. *Ad Att.* xi. 18." Mr. Ross.

LETTER XXI.

[A. U. 704.]

To the same.⁷

I ENTREAT you to take all proper measures for the recovery of your health. Let me request, likewise, that you would provide whatever may be necessary in the present conjuncture, and that you would send me frequent accounts how every thing goes on. Farewel.

LETTER XXII.

[A. U. 704.]

To the same.

I HAVE seldom an opportunity of writing, and scarce any thing to say that I choose to trust in a letter. I find, by your last, that you cannot meet with a purchaser for any of our farms. I beg, therefore, you would consider of some other method of raising money, in order to satisfy that person who, you are sensible, I am very desirous should be paid⁸.

I am

⁷ This letter was probably written soon after the foregoing, and from the same place.

⁸ This letter, as well as the two former, was written while Cicero was with Pompey in Greece. The business at which he so obscurely hints, has been thought to relate to the payment

I am by no means surprised that you should have received the thanks of our friend, as I dare say she had great reason to acknowledge your kindness.

If Pollex⁹ is not yet set out, I desire you would exercise your authority, and force the loiterer to depart immediately. Farewel.

July the 15th.

LETTER

ment of part of Tullia's portion to Dolabella. But it seems evident from the 4th epistle of the 11th book to Atticus, that Cicero was not at this time come to any resolution concerning the second payment of his daughter's portion; for, in a postscript, he desires the sentiments of Atticus upon that subject. *De pensione altera*, says he, *oro te omni cura considera quid faciendum sit. Ad Att. xi. 4.* Now that this letter to Atticus was written about the same time, with the present to Terentia, appears from hence, that Cicero plainly refers in it to the same epistle to which this before us is an answer. *Ex proximis cognovi prædia non venisse: [Ad Att. ibid.]* which tallies with what he says in the letter under examination: *ex tuis literis, quas proxime accepi, cognovi prædium nullum venire potuisse*; and proves that the date of each must have been nearly, if not exactly, coincident. For these reasons, it seems necessary to look out for another interpretation of the present passage; and, from the cautious circumstance of the name being suppressed, it may be suspected that Cæsar is the person meant. It is certain, at least, that Cicero owed him a sum of money; concerning which, he expresses some uneasiness to Atticus, upon the breaking out of the civil war; as he could not, indeed, continue in Cæsar's debt with any honour, after he had joined the party against him. *Ad Att. vii. 3.*

⁹ It appears, by a letter to Atticus, that this person acted as a sort of steward in Cicero's family. *Ad. Att. xiii. 47.*

LETTER XXIII.

[A. U. 704.]

To the same.

MAY the joy you express at my safe arrival in Italy¹, be never interrupted! But my mind was so much discomposed by those atrocious injuries I had received², that I have taken a step, I fear, which may be attended with great difficulties³. Let me, then, entreat your utmost assistance;

¹ After the battle of Pharsalia, Cicero would not engage himself any farther with the Pompeian party; but, having endeavoured to make his peace with Cæsar by the mediation of Dolabella, he seems to have received no other answer than an order to return immediately into Italy. And this he accordingly did a few days before the date of the present letter. *Ad Att. xi. 7.*

² Cicero, who was somewhat indisposed, and much out of humour, did not attend Pompey when he marched from Dyrrachium in order to follow Cæsar. Cato was likewise left behind, with fifteen cohorts, to conduct the baggage; but upon the news of Pompey's defeat, in the plains of Pharsalia, he pressed Cicero to take upon himself the command of those troops, as being of superior rank in the republic. Cicero, who had all along declined accepting any commission in Pompey's army, was not disposed, it may well be imagined, to be more active against Cæsar, when the latter had just obtained a most signal victory. Accordingly, he absolutely refused this offer which Cato made; declaring, at the same time, his resolution of withdrawing from the common cause. This exasperated the young Pompey and his friends to such a degree, that they would have killed Cicero upon the spot, if Cato had not generously interposed, and conducted him safely out of the camp. It is probably to this outrage that he here alludes. *Ad Att. xi. 4. Plut. in vit. Cic.*

³ It has been observed, that Cicero scarce ever executed an important resolution, of which he did not immediately repent.

assistance; though, I must confess, at the same time, that I know not wherein it can avail me.

I would by no means have you think of coming hither. For the journey is both long and dangerous, and I do not see in what manner you could be of any service. Farewel.

Brundisium, Nov. the 5th.

repent. This, at least, was the situation of his mind, in the present instance; and he was no sooner arrived in Italy, than he began to condemn himself for having too hastily determined upon that measure. The letters which he wrote to Atticus, at this period, and which comprise almost the 11th book of those epistles, contain little else than so many proofs of this assertion. Cicero imagined, after the decisive action that had lately happened in the plains of Pharsalia, that the chiefs of the Pompeian party would instantly sue for peace. But Cæsar, instead of directly pursuing his victory, suffered himself to be diverted by a war altogether foreign to his purpose, and in which the charms of Cleopatra, perhaps, carried him farther than he at first intended. This gave the Pompeians an opportunity of collecting their scattered forces, and of forming a very considerable army in Africa. As this circumstance was utterly unexpected by Cicero, it occasioned him infinite disquietude, and produced those reproaches which he is perpetually throwing out upon himself in the letters abovementioned to Atticus. For, if the republican party should, after all, have returned triumphant into Italy, he knew he should be treated as one who had merited their utmost resentment.

This and the following letters in this book to Terentia, were written during the interval of Cicero's arrival at Brundisium, and Cæsar's return into Italy, which contains a period of about eleven months.

LETTER XXIV.

[A. U. 704.]

To the same.

THE ill state of health into which Tullia is fallen, is a very severe addition to the many and great disquietudes that afflict my mind⁴. But I need say nothing farther upon this subject, as I am sure her welfare is no less a part of your tender concern than it is of mine.

I agree both with you and her in thinking it proper that I should advance nearer to Rome⁵; and I should have done so before now, if I had not been prevented by several difficulties, which I am not yet able to remove. But I am in expectation of a letter from Atticus, with his sentiments upon this subject; and I beg you would forward it to me by the earliest opportunity. Farewel.

LETTER

⁴ The anxiety which Cicero laboured under, at this juncture, was undoubtedly severe. Besides the uneasiness mentioned in the last remark, he was, likewise, under great disquietude from the uncertainty of the disposition in which Caesar stood towards him. And, to add yet more to the discomposure of his mind, it was at this time that he received the cruel usage from his brother, of which an account has been given in rem. 7. p. 110. of this vol. He had still greater misfortunes of a domestic kind, to increase the weight of his sorrows, which will be pointed out as they shall occasionally offer themselves in the remaining letters to Terentia.

⁵ Cicero was still at Brundisium, from which place all the following letters in this book to Terentia, except the last, seem to have been written.

LETTER XXV.

[A. U. 704.]

To the same,

IN addition to my other misfortunes, I have now to lament the illness both of Dolabella and Tullia. The whole frame of my mind is, indeed, so utterly discomposed, that I know not what to resolve, or how to act, in any of my affairs. I can only conjure you to take care of yourself and of Tullia. Farewel.

LETTER XXVI.

[A. U. 704.]

To the same.

IF any thing occurred worth communicating to you, my letters would be more frequent and much longer. But I need not tell you the situation of my affairs; and, as to the effect they have upon my mind, I leave it to Lepta and Trebatius to inform you. I have only to add my entreaties, that you would take care of your own and Tullia's health. Farewel.

LETTER XXVII.

[A. U. 704.]

TO TITIVS⁶.

THERE is none of your friends less capable than I am to offer consolation to you under your present affliction; as the share I take in your loss⁷ renders me greatly in need of the same good office myself. However, as my grief does not rise to the same extreme degree as yours, I should not think I discharged the duty which my connexion and friendship with you require, if I remained altogether silent at a time when you are thus overwhelmed with sorrow. I determined, therefore, to suggest a few reflections to you which may alleviate, at least, if not entirely remove, the anguish of your heart.

There is no maxim of consolation more common; yet, at the same time, there is none which deserves to be more frequently in our thoughts, than that we ought to remember, "We are
"men;"

⁶ It is altogether uncertain who the person is to whom this letter is addressed; perhaps the same to whom the 16th of the third book is written. See rem. * p. 248. vol. 1. The precise date, likewise, is extremely doubtful; however, the opinion of Dransfeld is here followed, who, in his edition of these epistles, has placed it under the present year.

⁷ Of his son.

“men;” that is, creatures who are born to be exposed to calamities of every kind; and, therefore, “that it becomes us to submit to the conditions by which we hold our existence, without being too much dejected by accidents which no prudence can prevent.” In a word, that we should learn by “reflecting on the misfortunes which have attended others, that there is nothing singular in those which befall ourselves.” But neither these, nor other arguments to the same purpose, which are inculcated in the writings of the philosophers, seem to have so strong a claim to success, as those which may be drawn from the present unhappy situation of public affairs, and that endless series of misfortunes which is rising upon our country. They are such, indeed, that one cannot but account those to be most fortunate, who never knew what it was to be a parent; and as to those persons who are deprived of their children, in these times of general anarchy and mis-rule, they have much less reason to regret their loss, than if it had happened in a more flourishing period of the commonwealth, or while yet the republic had any existence. If your tears flow, indeed, from this accident, merely as it affects your own personal happiness, it may be difficult, perhaps, entirely to restrain them. But, if your sorrow takes

its rise from a more enlarged and benevolent principle; if it be for the sake of the dead themselves that you lament, it may be an easier task to assuage your grief. I shall not here insist upon an argument, which I have frequently heard maintained in conversations, as well as often read, likewise, in treatises that have been written upon this subject. "Death," "say those philosophers, "cannot be considered as an evil; because, if any consciousness remains after our dissolution, it is rather "an entrance into immortality, than an extinction of life; and if none remains, there can "be no misery where there is no sensibility*."

Not

* The notion of a future state of *positive* punishment, seems to have been rejected by the ancient philosophers in general; both by those who maintained the eternal, and those who only held the temporary duration of the soul after death. Thus Cicero and Seneca, though of different sects, yet agree in treating the fears of this sort as merely a poetical delusion: [*Tuscul. Disput. l. 21. 30. Senec. Consolat. ad Marc. 19.*] and even Socrates himself affixes no other penalty to the most atrocious deviations from moral rectitude, than that of a simple exclusion from the mansions of the gods. This shows how impotent the purest systems of the best philosophers must have been, for the moral government of mankind, since they thus dropped one of the most powerful of all sanctions for that purpose, the terrors of an actual chastisement. The comparative number of those is infinitely small, whose conduct does not give reason to suspect that they would be willing to exchange spiritual joys in reversion, for the full gratification of an importunate appetite in present; and the interest of virtue can alone be sufficiently guarded by the divine assurance of *tutense punishment* as well as of *complete happiness hereafter*.

Not to insist, I say, upon any reasonings of this nature; let me remind you of an argument which I can urge with much more confidence. He who has made his exit from a scene where such dreadful confusion prevails, and where so many approaching calamities are in prospect, cannot possibly, it should seem, be a loser by the exchange. Let me ask, not only where honour, virtue, and probity, where true philosophy and the useful arts, can now fly for refuge; but where even our liberties and our lives can be secure? For my own part, I have never once heard of the death of any youth during all this last sad year, whom I have not considered as kindly delivered by the immortal gods from the miseries of these wretched times. If, therefore, you can be persuaded to think that their condition is by no means unhappy, whose loss you so tenderly deplore; it must undoubtedly prove a very considerable abatement of your present affliction. For it will then entirely arise from what you feel upon your own account; and have no relation to the persons whose death you regret. Now it would ill agree with those wise and generous maxims which have ever inspired your breast, to be too sensible of misfortunes which terminate in your own person, and affect not the happiness of those you love. You have

VOL. II.

M

upon

upon all occasions, both public and private, shewn yourself animated with the firmest fortitude: and it becomes you to act up to the character you have thus justly acquired. Time necessarily wears out the deepest impressions of sorrow: and the weakest mother that ever lost a child, has found some period to her grief. But we should wisely anticipate that effect which a certain revolution of days will undoubtedly produce: and not wait for a remedy from time, which we may much sooner receive from reason.

If what I have said can any thing avail in lessening the weight of your affliction, I shall have obtained my wish: If not, I shall at least have discharged the duties of that friendship and affection which, believe me, I ever have preserved, and ever shall preserve towards you. Farewel.

LETTER XXVIII.

[A. U. 705.]

TO TARENTIA.

MY affairs are, at present, in such a situation, that I have no reason to expect a letter on your part, and have nothing to communicate to you on mine. Yet I know not how it is, I can no
more

more forbear flattering myself that I may hear from you, than I can refrain from writing to you whenever I meet with a conveyance.

Volumnia ought to have shewn herself more zealous for your interest: and in the particular instance you mention, she might have acted with greater care and caution. This, however, is but a slight grievance amongst others which I far more severely feel and lament. They have the effect upon me, indeed, which those persons undoubtedly wished*, who compelled me into measures utterly opposite to my own sentiments. Farewel.

December the 31st.

LETTER

* The commentators are divided in their opinions concerning the persons to whom Cicero here alludes: as they are likewise as to the year when this letter was written. There are two periods, indeed, of Cicero's life, with which this epistle will equally coincide: the time when he was in banishment, and the time when he returned into Italy, after the defeat of Pompey. The opinion, however, of Victorius has been followed, in placing this letter under the present year: who supposes, not without probability, that the persons here meant are the same of whom Cicero complains in the 23d letter of this book.

LETTER XXIX.

[A. U. 706.]

TO ACILIUS, Proconsul^a.

LUCIUS MANLIUS SOSIS was formerly a citizen of Catina^b; but having afterwards obtained the freedom of Naples, he is at present one of the members of their council. He is likewise a citizen of Rome; having been admitted to that privilege with the rest of the Neapolitans, in consequence of the general grant which was made for that purpose to our allies and the inhabitants of Latium. He has lately succeeded to an estate at Catina, by the death of his brother: and is now in actual possession. But though I do not imagine that his right is likely to be controverted; yet, as he

^a He was governor of Sicily: which is all that is known of his history. The laborious and accurate Pighius places his administration of that island under the present year: and Mr. Ross assigns a very good reason for being of the same opinion. For it appears (as that gentleman observes) that Cicero's correspondence with Acilius was carried on when the latter was proconsul of Sicily, and during the time that Cæsar had the supreme authority. It is probable, therefore, that these letters were written in the present year; because in all the others that fall within that period, the persons who severally presided in Sicily are known to have been Posthumius Albinus, Aulus Allienus, and Titus Fursanius. See *Mr. Ross's rem. on the Epist. Famil. vol. 2. p. 502.*

^b A maritime city in Sicily, now called Catania. It continued to be a town of considerable note, till the eruptions of mount Ætna in 1669 and 1693, which almost entirely laid it in ruins.

he has other affairs of consequence in Sicily, I recommend his concerns of every kind in that island to your protection. But I particularly recommend himself to you as a most worthy man; as one with whom I am intimately connected; and as a person who excels in those sciences I principally admire. Whether therefore he shall think proper to return into Sicily or not, I desire you would consider him as my very particular friend: and that you would treat him in such a manner as to convince him that this letter proved greatly to his advantage, Farewel.

LETTER XXX.

[A. U. 706.]

TO TERENTIA.

TULLIA arrived here¹ on the 12th of this month². It extremely affected me to see a woman of her singular and amiable virtues reduced (and reduced too by my own negligence) to a situation far other than is agreeable to her rank and filial piety³.

I have

¹ Brundisium: where Cicero was still waiting for Cæsar's arrival from Egypt.

² June.

³ Dolabella was greatly embarrassed in his affairs: and it seems by this passage as if he had not allowed Tullia a maintenance, during his absence abroad, sufficient to support her

I have some thoughts of sending my son, accompanied by Sallustius, with a letter to Cæsar: and if I should execute this design, I will let you know when he sets out. In the mean time be careful of your health I conjure you. Farewel.

LETTER XXXI.

[A. U. 706.]

To the same.

I HAD determined, agreeably to what I mentioned in my former, to send my son to meet Cæsar on his return to Italy. But I have since altered my resolution: as I hear no news of his arrival. For the rest I refer you to Sicca, who will inform you what measures I think necessary to be taken: though I must add, that nothing new has occurred since I wrote last. Tullia is still with me.—Adieu, and take all possible care of your health.

June the 20th.

LETTER

rank and dignity. The negligence with which Cicero reproaches himself, probably relates to his not having secured a proper settlement on his daughter, when he made the second payment of her fortune to Dolabella. For in a letter written to Atticus about this time, he expressly condemns himself for having acted imprudently in that affair. *In pensione secunda*, says he, *cæci fuimus*. *Ad Att.* xi. 19.

4 In order to supplicate Cæsar's pardon, for having engaged against him on the side of Pompey.

LETTER XXXII.

[A. U. 706.]

To ACILIUS, Proconsul.

CAIUS FLAVIUS, an illustrious Roman knight, of an honourable family, is one with whom I live in great intimacy: he was a very particular friend likewise of my son-in-law Piso. Both he and his brother Lucius shew me the strongest instances of their regard. I shall receive it, therefore, as an honour done to myself, if you will treat Caius with all the marks of favour and distinction that shall be consistent with your character and dignity: and be assured you cannot, in any article, more effectually oblige me, than by complying with this request. I will add, that the rank which he bears in the world, the credit in which he stands with those of his own order, together with his polite and grateful disposition, will afford you reason to be extremely well satisfied with the good offices you shall confer upon him. When I say this, believe me, I am not prompted by any interested motives, but speak the sincere dictates of truth and friendship. Farewel

M 4

LETTER

LETTER XXXIII.

[A. U. 706.]

TO TERENTIA.

I WROTE to Atticus (somewhat later indeed than I ought) concerning the affair you mention. When you talk to him upon that head, he will inform you of my inclinations: and I need not be more explicit here, after having written so fully to him⁵. Let me know as soon as possible what steps are taken in that business: and acquaint me at the same time with every thing else which concerns me. I have only to add my request, that you would be careful of your health. Farewel.

July the 9th.

LETTER

⁵ Mr. Ross supposes that the letter to which Cicero refers, is the 19th of the 11th book to Atticus. If this conjecture be right (as it is highly probable) the business hinted at concerned the making of Terentia's will, and also the raising of money towards the support of Tullia, by the sale of some plate and furniture. *Ad Att.* xi. 19. 20.

LETTER XXXIV.

[A. U. 706.]

To the same.

IN answer to what you object concerning the divorce I mentioned in my last⁶, I can only say, that I am perfectly ignorant what power Dolabella may at this time possess, or what ferments there may be among the populace⁷. However, if you think there is any thing to be apprehended from his resentment, let the matter

⁶ Between Tullia and Dolabella. The occasion of this divorce is so darkly hinted at in the letters to Atticus, that it is altogether impossible to penetrate into the reasons that produced it: one, however, seems to have arisen from an intrigue that was carrying on between Dolabella and Metella. This lady was wife to Lentulus Spinther (to whom several letters in the first and second book of this collection are addressed) and is supposed to be the same person whom Horace mentions to have had a commerce of gallantry with the son of the celebrated tragedian Æsopus. See rem. 6. p. 119. vol. i. *Ad Att.* xi. 20.

⁷ Dolabella was at this time tribune of the people, and employing the power and credit with which he was invested by that office, to the most seditious purposes. Among other attempts, he endeavoured to procure a law for the general cancelling of all debts, and likewise to oblige the proprietors of houses in Rome, to remit one year's rent to their respective tenants. The disturbances ran so high, that the senate was under a necessity of suffering Antony to enter Rome with a body of troops, and no less than 800 citizens lost their lives upon this occasion. But nothing proved effectual for quieting these commotions, till it was known that Cæsar, after having finished the war in Egypt, was actually upon his return into Italy. *Plut. in vit. Anton. Dio. xlii. Liv. Epit. 113.*

ter rest: and, perhaps, the first proposal may come from himself^a. Nevertheless, I leave you to act as you shall judge proper; not doubting that you will take such measures in this most unfortunate affair, as shall appear to be attended with the fewest unhappy consequences. Farewel.

July the 10th.

LETTER XXXV.

[A. U. 706.]

To ACILIUS, Proconsul.

MARCUS and Caius Clodius, together with Archagathus and Philo, all of them inhabitants of the noble and elegant city of Halesa, are persons with whom I am united by every tie of friendship and hospitality. But I am afraid if I recommend so many at once to your particular favour, you will be apt to suspect that I write merely from some motive of an interested kind: though, indeed, both myself and my friends have reason to be abundantly satisfied with the regard you always pay to my letters of this nature. Let me assure you then, that both Archagathus and Philo, as also the whole family of the

^a The passage in the original is extremely corrupt. The translator has adopted the reading proposed by Mr. Ross: *sed si metuendus iratus est: quiesce: tum ab illo, fortasse nascetur.*

the Clodii, have, by a long series of affectionate offices, a right to my best assistance. I very earnestly entreat you, therefore, as an obligation that will be highly agreeable to me, that you would promote their interest upon all occasions, as far as the honour and dignity of your character shall permit. Farewel.

LETTER XXXVI.

[A. U. 706.]

TO CASSIUS.

IT was the hope that peace would be restored to our country, and the abhorrence of spilling the blood of our fellow-citizens, that equally induced both you and myself to decline an obstinate perseverance in the civil war*. But though these sentiments were common to us both,

* Cæsar, after the battle of Pharsalia, crossed the Hellespont in pursuit of Pompey. Cassius, who was at the same time sailing in those streights with a very considerable fleet, might with great ease have destroyed him; as Cæsar was in no condition to have resisted so powerful an armament. But Cassius chose to act a most unworthy and treacherous part, by deserting with his whole fleet to the conqueror. Some of the historians account for this conduct, by assuring us that he was struck with a kind of panic at the amazing fortune of Cæsar, which rendered him incapable of making any farther resistance. Whereas it appears, by the present letter, to have been in consequence of a very extraordinary resolution he had formed in concert with Cicero, of resting the cause of liberty, for so they called it, upon a single engagement. *Suet. in Jul. 63. Appian. B. C. 483.*

both, yet, as I am considered as having been the first to inspire you with them, it is more my part, perhaps, to render you satisfied with having adopted them, than it is yours to perform the same friendly office towards me. But to say the truth, (and it is a circumstance upon which I frequently reflect) we mutually convinced each other in the free conversations we held upon this subject, that a single battle, if it should not wholly determine our cause, ought to be the limits, however, of our particular opposition. And these sentiments have never seriously been condemned by any, but by those alone who think it more eligible that our constitution should be totally destroyed, than in any degree impaired. But my opinion was far otherwise: for I had no views to gratify by its extinction, and had much to hope from its remains. As to the consequences which have since ensued; they lay far beyond the reach of human discernment; and the wonder is, not so much how they escaped our penetration, as how it was possible they should have happened. I must confess my own opinion always was, that the battle of Pharsalia would be decisive: and I imagined that the victors would act with a regard to the common preservation of all, and the vanquished to their own. But both the one and the other,

I was

I was well aware, depended on the expedition with which the conquerors should pursue their success. And had they pursued it immediately, those who have since carried the war into Africa^b, would have experienced (and experienced too, if I do not flatter myself, by my intercession) the same clemency with which the rest of our party have been treated, who retired into Asia and Achaia. But the critical opportunity (that season so important in all transactions, and especially in a civil war) was unhappily lost: and a whole year intervening, it raised the spirits of some of our party to hope they might recover the victory: and rendered others so desperate as not to dread the reverse. Fortune, however, must be answerable for the whole train of evils which this delay has produced. For who would have imagined either that the Alexandrine war could have been drawn out to so great a length, or that the paltry Pharnaces could have struck such a terror throughout Asia^c.

But

^b See rem. 3. p. 154. of this vol.

^c Pharnaces was son of the famous Mithridates, king of Pontus. [See rem. 2. p. 2. vol. 1.] This young prince, taking advantage of Cæsar's being engaged in the Alexandrine war, made an incursion into Cappadocia and the Lesser Armenia; the dominions of Deiotarus, a tributary king to the Romans. Domitius Calvinus, whom Cæsar had appointed to command in Asia and the neighbouring provinces, having received notice of this invasion, marched immediately to the assistance of Deiotarus. The two armies came to an engagement,

But though we both acted by the same measures, our present situations, however, are extremely different. The scheme which you thought proper to execute, has given you admission into Cæsar's councils, and opened a prospect to you of his future purposes: an advantage, most certainly, that must spare you all the uneasiness which attends a state of doubt and suspense. Whereas, for myself, as I imagined that Cæsar would immediately after the battle of Pharsalia have returned into Italy, I hastened hither in order to encourage and improve that pacific disposition which he had discovered, by his generosity to so many of his illustrious enemies: by which means, I have ever since been separated from him by an immense distance. Here, in truth, I sit the sad witness of those complaints^d that are poured forth

ment, in which Pharnaces had the superiority. Calvinus, at the same time, being called away by Cæsar, who had occasion for those troops to complete the conquest of Alexandria, Pharnaces took that opportunity of entering Pontus, which he seized as his hereditary dominions, and where he committed great cruelties and devastation. This letter seems to have been written soon after the transaction above related, and probably while Cæsar himself was on the march in order to chastise the insolence of Pharnaces. It was in giving an account of this expedition, that Cæsar made use of that celebrated expression in a letter to one of his friends, *Veni, vidi, vici*. *Hirt. Bel. Alexand. 31. Plut. in vit. Cæsar.*

^d Cæsar, after the battle of Pharsalia, sent Mark Antony into Italy as his master of the horse: an office, in the absence of the dictator, of supreme authority in the commonwealth

forth in Rome, and throughout all Italy: complaints which both you and I, according to our respective powers, might contribute somewhat to remove, if Cæsar were present to support us.

I entreat you, then, to communicate to me, agreeably to your wonted friendship, all that you observe and think concerning the present state of affairs: in a word, that you would inform me what we are to expect, and how you would advise me to act. Be assured I shall lay great stress upon your sentiments, and had I wisely followed those you gave me in your first letter from Luceria*, I might, without difficulty, have still preserved my dignities. Farewel.

LETTER XXXVII.

[A. U. 706.]

To ACILIUS, Proconsul.

THERE is no man of the same rank as Otacilius Naso, with whom I more intimately converse: as, indeed, the polite and virtuous cast
of

wealth: but Antony abused the power with which he was thus invested; and taking advantage of the disturbances mentioned in rem. 7. p. 169. of this vol. turned them to his private purposes, by enriching himself with the spoils of his fellow citizens. This seems to have been the occasion of those general complaints to which Cicero here alludes. *Phil. in vit. Anton. Cic. Phil. ii. 24, 25.*

* Now called Lucera, a city of Italy, situated in the Capitanata, a part of the ancient Apulia.

of his mind, renders my daily intercourse with him extremely pleasing to me. After having thus acquainted you with the terms upon which we live together, I need add nothing further to recommend him to your good opinion. He has some affairs in your province which he has entrusted to the management of his freedmen Hilarus, Antigonus, and Demostratus: these, therefore, together with all the concerns of Naso, I beseech you to receive under your protection. I ask this with the same warmth as if I were personally interested; and be assured, I shall think myself highly obliged, if I should find that this letter shall have had great weight with you. Farewel.

LETTER XXXVIII.

[A. U. 706.]

TO TERENTIA.

I HAVE not yet heard any news either of Cæsar's arrival, or of his letter which Philotimus, I was informed, had in charge to deliver to me. But be assured, you shall immediately receive the first certain intelligence I shall be able to send you. Take care of your health. Adieu.

August the 11th.

LETTER.

LETTER XXXIX.

[A. U. 706.]

To the same.

I HAVE at last received a letter from Cæsar, and written in no unfavourable terms⁹. It is now said that he will be in Italy much sooner than was expected. I have not yet resolved whether to wait for him here, or to meet him on his way; but, as soon as I shall have determined that point, I will let you know.

I beg you would immediately send back this messenger; and let me conjure you, at the same time, to take all possible care of your health. Farewel.

August the 12th.

⁹ This letter is not extant, but Cicero mentions the purport of it in one of his orations; by which it appears, that Cæsar therein assured our author, that he would preserve to him his former state and dignities. *Pro Ligar. 3.*

VOL. II.

N

LETTER XL.

[A. U. 706.]

To ACILIUS, Proconsul.

I HAVE been an old and hereditary guest^a, at the house of Lyso, of Lilybæum^b, ever since the time of his grandfather, and he accordingly distinguishes me with singular marks of his respect; as, indeed, I have found him to be worthy of that illustrious ancestry from which he descends. For this reason, I very strenuously recommend both himself and his family to your good offices, and entreat you to let him see that my recommendation has proved much to his honour and advantage. Farewel.

LETTER

^a Cicero was proquæstor of Sicily, in the year of Rome 678; and he afterwards visited that island in order to furnish himself with evidence against Verres, the late governor, whom he had undertaken to impeach for his oppressive and cruel administration of that province. It was probably upon these occasions that he had been entertained at the house of Lyso, as well as of several others whom he recommends in his letters to Acilius, as persons to whom he was indebted for the rites of hospitality.

^b A sea-port town in Sicily, now called Marsala.

LETTER XLI.

[A. U. 706.]

TO TARENTIA.

I AM in daily expectation of my couriers, whose return will, perhaps, render me less doubtful what course to pursue¹. As soon as they shall arrive, I will give you immediate notice. Meanwhile be careful of your health. Farewel.

September the 1st.

LETTER XLII.

[A. U. 706.]

To the same.

I PURPOSE to be at my Tusculan villa about the 7th or 8th of this month². I beg that every thing may be ready for my reception, as I shall, perhaps, bring several friends with me; and I may

¹ Whether to wait at Brundisium the arrival of Cæsar, or to set out in order to meet him.

² "Cicero continued at Brundisium till Cæsar arrived in Italy, who came much sooner than was expected, and landed at Tarentum some time in September. They had an interview with each other, which ended much to the satisfaction of Cicero; who, intending to follow Cæsar towards Rome, wrote this letter to his wife, to prepare for his reception at his Tusculan villa." *Ross. Rem. on Cic. Epistles.*

may probably, too, continue there some time. If a vase is wanting in the bath, let it be supplied with one; and I desire you would, likewise, provide whatever else may be necessary for the health and entertainment of my guests. Farewel.

Venusia³, October the 1st.

LETTER XLIII.

[A. U. 706.]

TO ACILIUS, Proconsul.

CAIUS AVIANUS PHILOXENUS is my old host. But, besides this connexion, he is, likewise, my particular friend; and it was in consequence of my good offices that Cæsar admitted him into the corporation of Novocomum. It was upon this occasion he assumed the family name of his friend Flaccus Avianus, whom I believe you know to be, likewise, extremely mine. I mention these circumstances as so many proofs that my recommendation of Philoxenus is not founded upon common motives. I entreat you, then, to receive him into the number of your friends; to assist him in every instance that shall not break in upon your own convenience; and, in a word, to let him see that

³ Now called Venosa, a town in the kingdom of Naples, situated at the foot of the Appennine mountains.

that this letter proved of singular service to him. Your compliance with this request will be obliging me in the most sensible manner. Farewel.

LETTER XLIV.

[A. U. 706.]

TO TREBONIUS⁴.

I READ your letter, but particularly the treatise that attended it, with great pleasure. It was a pleasure, nevertheless, not without its alloy; as I could not but regret that you should leave us at a time when you had thus inflamed my heart, I do not say with a stronger affection, (for that could admit of no increase) but with

⁴ He was tribune in the year of Rome 698, at which time he distinguished himself by being the principal promoter of those unconstitutional grants that were made by the people to Pompey, Cæsar, and Crassus, for the enlargement of their power and dignities. After the expiration of his tribunate, he went into Gaul, in quality of Cæsar's lieutenant; and, on the breaking out of the civil war, he was honoured by Cæsar with the command at the siege of Marseilles. In the year before the date of this letter, he was elected to the office of prætor; in which he discovered great spirit and judgment in opposing the factious measures of his colleague, the turbulent Cælius; of whose attempts, mention has been made in note 6. p. 145. of this vol. In the present year, he was appointed proconsul of Spain; to which province he was either just setting out, or actually upon the road, when this letter was written. *Dio*, xxxix. p. 105. *Cæsar de Bel. Civil.* i. 36. iii. 20. *Hirt. de Bel. Afric.* 64. For a farther account of Trebonius, see rem. 6. below, and rem. 8. p. 99. vol. iii.

⁵ A collection of Cicero's *Bons Mots*.

with a more ardent desire of enjoying your company. My single consolation arises from the hope that we shall endeavour to alleviate the pain of this absence by a mutual exchange of long and frequent letters. Whilst I promise this on my part, I assure myself of the same on yours; as, indeed, you have left me no room to doubt, how highly I stand in your regard. Need I mention those public instances I formerly received of your friendship, when you shewed the world that you considered my enemies as your own; when you stood forth, my generous advocate, in the assemblies of the people; when you acted with that spirit which the consuls ought to have shewn, in maintaining the cause of liberty, by supporting mine; and, though only a quæstor, yet refused to submit to the superior authority of a tribune, whilst your colleague, at the same time, meanly yielded to his measures⁶? Need I mention (what I shall

⁶ Trebonius was quæstor in the year of Rome 693, when Lucius Afranius and Quintus Metellus Celer were consuls. It was at this time that Clodius (desirous of obtaining the tribunate in order to oppress Cicero with the weight of that powerful magistracy) made his first effort to obtain a law for ratifying his adoption into a plebeian family; none but plebeians being entitled to exercise that office. The tribune, to whom Cicero here alludes, is Herennius, whom Clodius had prevailed upon to propose this law to the people, and whose indigence and principles qualified him for undertaking any work for any man that would give him his price. Both the consuls were, likewise, favourers of this law, when it was first

shall always, however, most gratefully remember) the more recent instances of your regard to me, in the solicitude you expressed for my safety when I engaged in the late war; in the joy you shewed when I returned into Italy⁷; in your friendly participation of all those cares and disquietudes with which I was at that time oppressed⁸; and, in a word, in your kind intent of visiting me at Brundisium⁹, if you had not been suddenly ordered into Spain? To omit, I say, these various and inestimable proofs of your friendship; is not the treatise you have now sent me, a most conspicuous evidence of the share I enjoy in your heart? It is so, indeed, in a double view; and, not only as you are so partial as to be the constant, and, perhaps, single, admirer of my wit, but as you have placed it, likewise, in so advantageous a light, as to render it, whatever it may be in itself, extremely agreeable. The truth of it is, your manner of relating my pleasantries, is not less humorous than the conceits

you

first proposed; but Metellus, when he discovered the factitious designs which Clodius had in view, thought proper, afterwards, most strongly to oppose it. The colleague of Trebonius, in the quæstorship, was Quintus Cæcilius Nepos; of whose particular enmity to Cicero, an account has been given in rem. 8. on let. 2. of book i. and by Cicero himself in the third letter of the same book. *Ad Att.* i. 18, 19. *Dis.* xxxvii. p. 53. *Pigh. Annal.* 693.

⁷ After the battle of Pharsalia.

⁸ See rem. 3. p. 154. of this vol.

⁹ When he was waiting the arrival of Cæsar.

you celebrate, and half the reader's mirth is exhausted ere he arrives at my joke. In short, if I had no other obligation to you for making this collection, than your having suffered me to be so long present to your thoughts, I should be utterly insensible if it were not to impress upon me the most affectionate sentiments. When I consider, indeed, that nothing but the warmest attachment could have engaged you in such a work, I cannot suppose any man to have a greater regard for himself, than you have thus discovered for me. I wish it may be in my power to make you as ample a return in every other instance, as I most certainly do in the affection of my heart; a return, with which I trust, however, you will be perfectly well satisfied.

But to return from your performance, to your very agreeable letter: full as it was, I may yet answer it in few words. Let me assure you, then, in the first place, that I no more imagined the letter which I sent to Calvus¹⁰ would be made public,

¹⁰ A very celebrated orator; who, though not much above thirty when he died, (which was a short time before this letter was written) yet left behind him a large collection of orations: he was concerned with Cicero in most of the principal causes that came into the forum during the short time in which he flourished. The letter here mentioned was probably part of a correspondence carried on between Cicero and Calvus, on the subject of eloquence; the whole of which was extant long after the death of our author, though none of these epistles have reached our times. *Quinct. Inst. x. 1. Auct. Dialog. de caus. corrupt. eloquent. 18. 21.*

public, than I suspect that this will; and you are sensible that a letter designed to go no farther than the hand to which it is addressed, is written in a very different manner from one intended for general inspection. But you think, it seems, that I have spoken in higher terms of his abilities, than truth will justify. It was my real opinion, however, that he possessed a great genius, and, notwithstanding that he misapplied it by a wrong choice of that particular species of eloquence which he adopted, yet he certainly discovered great judgment in his execution. In a word, his compositions were marked with a vein of uncommon erudition; but they wanted a certain strength and spirit of colouring to render them perfectly finished. It was the attainment, therefore, of this quality that I endeavoured to recommend to his pursuit; and the seasoning of advice with applause, has a wonderful efficacy in firing the genius and animating the efforts of those one wishes to persuade¹¹. This was the true motive of

¹¹ "It is but allowing a man to be what he would have the world think him, (says Sir Richard Steele) to make him any thing else that one pleases." This judicious piece of flattery, however, deserves to be highly applauded in the present instance, as it proceeded entirely from a desire of benefiting the person on whom it was employed.— But what renders it more remarkably generous is, that Calvus contested, though very unequally indeed, the palm of eloquence with Cicero. Yet the latter, we see, generously endeavoured to correct the taste of his rival, and improve

of the praises I bestowed upon Calvus, of whose talents I really had a very high opinion.

I have only farther to assure you, that my affectionate wishes attend you in your journey ; that I shall impatiently expect your return ; that I shall faithfully preserve you in my remembrance ; and that I shall soothe the uneasiness of your absence, by keeping up this epistolary commerce. Let me entreat you to reflect, on your part, on the many and great good offices I have received at your hands ; and which, though *you* may forget, I never can, without being guilty of a most unpardonable ingratitude. It is impossible, indeed, you should reflect on the obligations you have conferred upon me, without believing, not only that I have some merit, but that I think of you with the highest esteem and affection. Farewel.

LETTER

improve him into a less inadequate competitor. For Cicero was too conscious of his sublime abilities, to be infected with that low jealousy so visible in wits of an inferior rank, who seem to think they can only rise in fame in proportion as they shall be able to sink the merit of contemporary geniuses. *Senec. Controvers. iii. 19.*

LETTER XLV.

[A. U. 706.]

To ACILIUS, Proconsul.

I HAVE long had obligations to Demetrius Magus, for the generous reception he gave me when I was in Sicily*: indeed there is none of his countrymen with whom I ever entered into so strong a friendship. At my particular instances, Dolabella prevailed with Cæsar to grant him the freedom of Rome, and I assisted at the ceremony of his admission: accordingly he now takes upon himself the name of Publius Cornelius. The ill use which some men, of a mean and avaricious turn, had made of Cæsar's confidence, by exposing privileges of this kind to sale, induced him to make a general revocation of these grants. However, he assured Dolabella, in my presence, that he had no reason to be under any apprehension with respect to Magus; for his benefaction, he said, should still remain to him in its full force. I thought proper to mention this, that you might treat him with the consideration which is due to a Roman citizen; and it is with the utmost zeal that I recommend him to your favour in all other respects. You cannot, indeed, confer upon

* See rem. *, p. 178. of this vol.

upon me an higher obligation, than by convincing my friend that this letter procured him the honour of your peculiar regard.—
Farewel.

LETTER XLVI.

[A. U. 706.]

TO SEXTILIUS RUFUS¹, Quæstor.

I RECOMMEND all the Cyprians in general to your protection, but particularly those belonging to the district of Paphos²: and I shall hold myself obliged to you for any instance of your favour that you shall think proper to shew them. It is with the more willingness I apply to you in their behalf, as it much imports your character (in which I greatly interest myself) that you, who are the first quæstor that ever held the government of Cyprus³, should form such ordinances as may deserve to be followed as so many precedents by your successors. It will contribute, I hope, to this end, if you shall pursue that edict which was published by
your

¹ He was appointed governor of the island of Cyprus, as appears by the present letter. And this, together with his commanding the fleet under Cassius, in Asia, after the death of Cæsar, is the whole that is known of him.

² A city in the island of Cyprus.

³ Before this time it was always annexed (as Manutius observes) to the province of Cilicia.

your friend Lentulus⁴, together with those which were enacted likewise by myself⁵, as your adopting them will prove, I trust, much to your honour. Farewel.

LETTER XLVII.

[A. U. 706.]

To ACILIUS, Proconsul.

I STRONGLY recommend my friend and host, Hippias, to your good offices: he is a citizen of Calactina, and the son of Philoxenus. His estate (as the affair has been represented to me) has been illegally seized for the use of the public; and, if this should be the truth, your own equity, without any other recommendation, will sufficiently incline you to see that justice is done him. But, whatever the circumstances of his case may be, I request it as an honour to myself, and an honour too of the most obliging kind, that you would in this, and in every other article in which he is concerned, favour him with your assistance; so far, I mean, as shall not be inconsistent with the honour and dignity of your character. Farewel.

LETTER

⁴ Lentulus Spinther, to whom several letters in the first and second books of this collection are addressed. See rem. 1. p. 50. vol. 1.

⁵ Cicero succeeded Appius in the government of Cilicia.

LETTER XLVIII.

[A. U. 706.]

To the same.

LUCIUS BRUTTIUS, a young man of equestrian rank, is in the number of those with whom I am most particularly intimate: there has been a great friendship, likewise, between his father and myself, ever since I was quæstor in Sicily. He distinguishes me by peculiar marks of his observance, and is adorned with every valuable accomplishment. He is at present my guest; but I most earnestly recommend his family, his affairs, and his agents, to your protection. You will confer upon me a most acceptable obligation, by giving him reason to find (as, indeed, I have ventured to assure him he undoubtedly will) that this letter proved much to his advantage. Farewel.

LETTER

LETTER XLIX.

[A. U. 706.]

TO LUCIUS PAPIRIUS PÆTUS^b.

Is it true, my friend, that you look upon yourself as having been guilty of a most ridiculous piece of folly, in attempting to imitate the thunder, as you call it, of my eloquence?—With reason, indeed, you might have thought so, had you failed in your attempt: but, since you have excelled the model you had in view, the disgrace surely is on my side, not on yours. The verse, therefore, which you apply to yourself, from one of Trabea's^c comedies, may with much more justice be turned upon me, as my own eloquence falls far short of that perfection at which I aim. But tell me what sort of figure do my letters make? are they not written, think you, in the true familiar? They do not constantly, however, preserve one uniform manner, as this species of composition bears no resemblance to that of the oratorical kind; though, indeed, in judicial matters, we vary our style according to the nature of the causes in which we are engaged. Those, for example,

^b See vol. ii. p. 15. rem. 1.

^c The time when this poet flourished is uncertain. His dramatic writings seem to have been in great repute, as Cicero frequently quotes them in his Tusculan Disputations.

ple, in which private interests of little moment are concerned, we treat with a suitable simplicity of diction; but where the reputation or the life of our client is in question, we rise into greater pomp and dignity of phrase. But, whatever may be the subject of my letters, they still speak the language of conversation.

How came you to imagine that all your family have been plebeians, when it is certain that many of them were patricians, of the lower order^d? To begin with the first in this catalogue, I will instance Lucius Papisius Magillanus; who, in the year of Rome 312, was censor with Lucius Sempronius Atratinus, as he before had been his colleague in the consulate. At this time your family name was Papisius. After him there were thirteen of your ancestors who were curule magistrates^e, before Lucius Papirius Crassus, who was the first of your family that changed the name of Papisius.

^d The Patrician families were distinguished into the higher and the lower order. Of the former sort were those who derived their pedigree from the two hundred senators that composed the senate, as it was originally established by Romulus: of the latter, were the descendants of the members which, above a century afterwards, were added to this celebrated council, by Tarquinius Priscus. *Rosin. Antiquit. Rom.* p. 687.

^e The curule magistrates were those particular officers of the state who had the privilege of being drawn in a car.—These were the consuls, the censors, the prætors, and curule ædiles.

sus. This Papirius, in the year 315, being chosen dictator, appointed Lucius Papirius Castor to be his master of the horse, and four years afterwards he was elected consul, together with Caius Duilius. Next in this list appears Cursor, a man highly honoured in his generation; and after him we find Lucius Masso, the ædile, together with several others of the same appellation: and I could wish that you had the portraits of all these patricians among your family-pictures. The Carbones and the Turdi follow next. This branch of your family were all of them plebeians, and they by no means reflect any honour upon your race. For, excepting Caius Carbo, who was murdered by Damasippus, there is not one of his name who was not an enemy to his country. There was another Caius, whom I personally knew, as well as the buffoon, his brother: they were both of them men of the most worthless characters. As to the son of Rubria, he was my friend; for which reason I shall pass him over in silence, and only mention his three brothers, Caius, Cneius, and Marcus. Marcus, having committed numberless acts of violence and oppression in Sicily, was prosecuted for those crimes by Publius Flaccus, and found guilty: Caius being, likewise, impeached by Lucius Crassus, is said to have poisoned himself with cantharides. He was

the author of great disturbances, during the time that he exercised the office of tribune, and is supposed to have been concerned in the murder of Scipio Africanus. As to Cneius, who was put to death by my friend Pompey, at Lilybæum, there never existed, I believe, a more infamous character. It is generally imagined that the father of this man, in order to avoid the consequences of a prosecution which was commenced against him by Marcus Antonius, put an end to his life by a draught of vitriol. Thus, my friend, I would advise you to claim your kindred among the patricians; for you see the plebeian part of your family were but a worthless and seditious race. Farewel.

LETTER

^f This Cneius Papirius Carbo was three times consul; the last of which was in the year of Rome 671. Having exercised his power in a most oppressive and tyrannical manner, he was deposed, to the great satisfaction of the republic, by Sylla, who was immediately declared dictator. Carbo soon afterwards appeared, with a considerable fleet, upon the coast of Sicily; and being taken prisoner by Pompey, whom Sylla had sent in pursuit of him, he was formally arraigned before the tribunal of Pompey, and publicly executed by his orders at Lilybæum. *Plut. in vit. Pomp.*

^g It may be proper to apprise the reader, in this place, that there is one epistle from Cicero to Pætus, which is omitted in this translation. Cicero takes occasion, in this rejected letter, to explain to his friend the notion of the stoics concerning obscenity; and, in order to illustrate their absurd reasoning upon this subject, he introduces a great variety of *double entendres*, which, as they turn upon ambiguities that hold only in the Latin language, it is utterly impossible to translate. But, had they been reconcilable to
our

LETTER L.

[A. U. 706.]

To ACILIUS, Proconsul.

I HAVE long had a friendship with the family of the Titurnii; the last surviving branch of which is Marcus Titurnius Rufus. He has a claim, therefore, to my best good offices, and it is in your power to render them effectual. Accordingly I recommend him to your favour, in all the most unfeigned warmth of my heart; and you will extremely oblige me by giving him strong proofs of the regard you pay to my recommendation. Farewel.

LETTER

our idiom, the translator would nevertheless have declined the office of being their interpreter; as he would not have deprived himself of the satisfaction to think that there is nothing in these volumes unfit for the perusal of the fair part of his readers. *Vid. Epist. Famil. ix. 22.*

O 2

LETTERS
OF
MARCUS TULLIUS CICERO
TO
SEVERAL OF HIS FRIENDS.

BOOK VIII.

LETTER I.

[A. U. 707.]

TO MARCUS MARIUS*.

WHENEVER I reflect, as, indeed, I frequently do, on those public calamities we have thus long endured, and are still likely to endure, it always brings to my thoughts the last interview we had together. It made so strong an impression.

* See rem. 2. p. 116. vol. 1.

pression upon my mind, that I can name the very day ; and I perfectly well remember it was on the 10th of May, in the consulate of Lentulus and Marcellus², that, upon my arrival at my Pompeian villa³, I found you waiting for me with the most friendly solicitude. Your generous concern arose from a tenderness both for my honour and my safety ; as the former, you feared, would be endangered if I continued in Italy ; and the latter, if I went to Pompey. I was myself, likewise, as you undoubtedly perceived, so greatly perplexed, as to be incapable of determining which of these measures was most advisable. However, I resolved to sacrifice all considerations of personal safety to the dictates of my honour, and accordingly I joined Pompey in Greece. But I no sooner arrived in his army, than I had occasion to repent of my resolution ; not so much from the danger to which I was myself exposed, as from the many capital faults I discovered among them. In the first place, Pompey's forces were neither very considerable in point of numbers⁴, nor by any means.

² An. Urb. 704 about two years before the date of this letter, which was probably written very early in the present year.

³ " This villa of Cicero was situated near Pompeii, upon the eastern coast of the bay of Naples, and at no great distance from the villa of Marius." Mr. Ross.

⁴ Pompey's army, at the battle of Pharsalia, was more than

méans composed of warlike troops : and, in the next place, (I speak, however, with exception of Pompey himself, and a few others of the principal leaders) they carried on the war with such a spirit of rapaciousness, and breathed such principles of cruelty in their conversation, that I could not think even upon our success without horror. To this I must add, that some of the most considerable officers were deeply involved in debt ; and, in short, there was nothing good among them but their cause. Thus despairing of success, I advised (what, indeed, I had always recommended) that proposals of accommodation should be offered to Cæsar ; and when I found Pompey utterly averse to all measures of that kind, I endeavoured to persuade him, at least, to avoid a general engagement. This last advice he seemed sometimes inclined to follow ; and, probably, would have followed, if a slight advantage, which he soon afterwards gained⁴, had not given him a confidence in his troops. From that moment, all the

than double in number to that of Cæsar, whose forces amounted only to about 22,000 men. *Plut. in vit. Pomp.*

⁴ Before the walls of Dyrrachium. Notwithstanding Cicero speaks with some sort of contempt of this advantage which Pompey gained over the troops of Cæsar ; yet it appears to have been very considerable. It was thought so at least by Cæsar himself, who observed to some of his friends, after the action was over, that the enemy would have obtained a complete victory, had they been commanded by a general that knew how to conquer. *Plut. in vit. Pomp.*

the skill and conduct of this great man seems to have utterly forsaken him : and he acted so little like a general, that, with a raw and inexperienced army, he imprudently gave battle⁵ to the most brave and martial legions. The consequence was, that he suffered a most shameful defeat ; and, abandoning his camp to Cæsar, he was obliged to run away, unaccompanied even with a single attendant⁶. This event determined me to lay down my arms ; being persuaded

⁵ In the plains of Pharsalia. The principal officers of Pompey's army were so elated by their late success before Dyrrachium, that they pursued Cæsar as to certain conquest ; and, instead of concerting measures for securing their victory, were employed in warmly contesting among themselves their several proportions of the spoils. Pompey was not less confident of success than the rest ; and he had the imprudence to declare, in a council of war, which was holden a few days before this important battle, that he did not doubt of entirely defeating Cæsar by the single strength of his cavalry, and without engaging his legions in the action. *Cæs. de Bel. Civ.* iii. 83. 86.

It is very observable, that the day on which this memorable battle was fought, is no where recorded, and that it was not known even in Lucan's time :

*Tempora signavit leviorum Roma malorum,
Hunc voluit nescire diem.* LUC. vii. 410.

⁶ Plutarch resembles Pompey's flight to that of Ajax before Hector, as described in the 11th Iliad :

ΖΕΥΣ ΔΕ ΠΑΤΗΡ ΑΙΑΝΤ' ΨΙΛΛΟΥΡΟΣ ΕΝ ΦΘΕΟΝ ΑΡΩΣΕ
ΣΤΗ ΔΕ ΤΑΦΩΝ, &c.

—Partial Jove, espousing Hector's part,
Shot heav'n-bred horror thro' the Grecian's heart ;
Confus'd, unnero'd in Hector's presence grown,
Amaz'd he stood, with horrors not his own.
O'er his broad back his moony shield he threw,
And, glaring round, by tardy steps withdrew. POPE.

In

suaded that, if we could not prevail with our united forces, we should scarce have better success when they were broken and dispersed. I declined, therefore, to engage any farther in a war, the result of which must necessarily be attended with one or other of the following unhappy consequences: either to perish in the field of battle, to be taken prisoner by the conquerors, to be sacrificed by treachery⁷, to have recourse to Juba⁸, to live in a sort of
voluntary

In fact, however, it was attended with all the circumstances of disgrace which Cicero mentions. Pompey, after various deliberations, resolved to take shelter in Egypt, where he had reason to hope for a protector in Ptolemy, whose father he had formerly assisted in recovering his dominions. [See vol. i. p. 51. rem. 2.] But Theodotus, a sort of tutor to this young prince, not thinking it prudent either to receive Pompey, or to refuse him admittance, proposed, as the best policy, that he should be destroyed. Accordingly the persons who were sent to conduct him from his ship had directions to be his executioners; which they performed, by stabbing him, as he was stepping out of the boat, in order to land.—These assassins, having severed Pompey's head, left his body on the shore, where it was burnt with the planks of an old fishing-boat, by a faithful freedman, who had been the unhappy spectator of this affecting tragedy. Pompey's ashes were afterwards conveyed to his wife Cornelia, who deposited them in a family monument near his Alban villa. *Plut. in vit. Pomp.*

⁷ This seems to allude to the fate of Pompey.

⁸ He was a very considerable prince, whose dominions extended not only over that part of Africa which is now called the coast of Barbary, but southward beyond mount Atlas, and from the Streights mouth along the Atlantic ocean to the Canary islands. Upon the first breaking out of the civil war, he distinguished himself in supporting the Pompeian party, in Africa, against the army commanded by Curio, whom

voluntary exile, or to fall by one's own hand. Other choice most certainly there was none, if you would not, or durst not, trust to the clemency of the victor. Banishment, it must be owned, to a mind that had nothing to reproach itself with, would have been the most eligible of all these evils; especially under the reflection of being driven from a commonwealth, which presents nothing to our view but what we must behold with pain. Nevertheless, I chose to remain

whom he entirely defeated. [See rem. 1. on let. 1. B. iii.] Lucan has given a very poetical description of the several tributary nations which, upon this occasion, he led to battle:

*Autololes, Numidæque vagi, semperque paratus
Inculto Gætulus equo, &c.*

*With him unnumber'd nations march along,
Th' Autololes with wild Numidians throng;
The rough Gætulian, with his ruder steed;
The Moor, resembling India's swarthy breed:
Poor Nasamons, and Garamantines join'd,
With swift Marmaridans that match the wind;
The Marax bred the trembling dart to throw,
Sure as the shaft that leaves the Parthian bow;
With these Massylia's nimble horsemen ride;
They nor the bit, nor curbing rein provide,
But with light rods the well-taught coarser guide.
From lonely cots the Lybian hunters came,
Who still unarm'd invade the salvage game,
And with spread mantles tawny lions tame.* REWE.

After the battle of Pharsalia, Scipio, who commanded the remains of Pompey's army that had assembled in Africa, applied to Juba for assistance; who, accordingly joined him with a very considerable body of men. But their united forces were not sufficient to withstand the fortune of Cæsar; who, having defeated their combined troops, Juba was too high spirited to survive the disgrace, and, at his own request, was stabbed by one of his attendants. *Lucan. iv. 670. Hirt. de Bell. Afric. 94.*

main with my own; if any thing now, indeed, can with propriety be called our *own*; a misfortune which, together with every other calamity that this fatal war has produced, I long since foretold. I returned, therefore, to Italy, not as to a situation perfectly desirable, but in order, if the republic should in any degree subsist, to enjoy somewhat that had, at least, the semblance of our country; and if it were utterly destroyed, to live as if I were, to all essential purposes, in a real state of exile. But, though I saw no reason that could justly induce me to be my own executioner, I saw many to be desirous of death. For it is an old and true maxim, that "life is not worth preserving, when "a man is no longer what he once was." A blameless conscience, however, is undoubtedly a great consolation; especially as I can add to it the double support that arises to my mind, from a knowledge of the noblest sciences, and from the glory of my former actions; one of which can never be torn from me so long as I live; and of the other, even death itself has not the power to deprive me.

I have troubled you with this minute detail, from a full persuasion of the tender regard you bear both to myself and to our country. I was desirous, indeed, to apprise you fully of the principles by which I have steered, that you
1 might

might be sensible it was my first and principal aim, that no single arm should be more potent than the whole united commonwealth; and, afterwards, when there was one, who by Pompey's mistaken conduct, had so firmly established his power as to render all resistance vain; that it was my next endeavour to preserve the public tranquillity. I was desirous you should know that, after the loss of those troops, and that general⁹ wherein all our hopes were centered, I attempted to procure a total cessation of arms; and when this advice proved ineffectual, that I determined, at least, to lay down my own. In a word, I was desirous you should know, that if our liberties still remain, I also am still a citizen of the republic; if not, that I am no less an exile, nor more conveniently situated, than if I had banished myself to Rhodes or Mitylene¹⁰.

I should

⁹ Pompey.

¹⁰ Rhodes, the metropolis of an island in the Mediterranean, and Mitylene, the principal city of Lesbos, an island in the Ægean sea, where places to which Marcellus and some others of the Pompeian party retired after the battle of Pharsalia. These cities were esteemed by the ancients for the delightful temperature of their respective climates, and for many other delicacies with which they abounded; and, accordingly, Horace, in his ode to Plancus, mentions them in the number of those which were most admired and celebrated by his countrymen:

Laudabunt alii claram Rhoden, aut Mitylenen, &c.

Both Vitruvius and Cicero, likewise, speak of Mitylene in particular, with the highest encomiums on the elegance, beauty, and magnificence of its buildings. It should seem, therefore, that

I should have been glad to have said this to you in person; but, as I was not likely to meet with an opportunity for that purpose so soon as I wished, I thought proper to take this earlier method of furnishing you with an answer, if you should fall in the way of those who are disposed to arraign my conduct. For, notwithstanding that my death could in no sort have availed the republic, yet I stand condemned, it seems, by some, for not sacrificing my life in its cause. But they are those only, I am well assured, who have the cruelty to think, that there has not been blood enough spilt already. If my advice, however, had been followed, those who have perished in this war, might have preserved their lives with honour, though they had accepted of peace upon ever so unreasonable conditions. For they would still have had the better cause, though their enemies had the stronger swords.

And now, perhaps, I have quite tired your
patience;

that the text is corrupted in this place; and that, instead of *non incommodiore loco*, the true reading is *non commodiore*. Cicero, indeed, would make use of a very odd sort of justification, if we suppose him to have said that he had not chosen a more *inconvenient* place for his residence, than those who retired to Rhodes or Mitylene; whereas it was much to his purpose to assert, that the exiles in those cities were full as conveniently situated as himself. For the rest, it will appear in the progress of these letters, that Cicero was far from living at Rome as in a state of exile, during Cæsar's usurpation. *Hor. Od. i. 7. Vitru. i. Cic. de Leg. Agr. ii. 16.*

patience; I shall think so, at least, if you do not send me a longer letter in return. I will only add, that if I can dispatch some affairs which I am desirous of finishing, I hope to be with you very shortly. Farewel.

LETTER II.

[A. U. 707.]

TO CNEIUS PLANCIUS¹.

I AM indebted to you for two letters, dated from Corcyra. You congratulate me in one of them on the account you have received, that

I still

¹ Cneius Plancius was of an equestrian family. He was early initiated into public affairs by Aulus Torquatus, whom he attended when he was proconsul in Africa. He afterwards served under Quintus Metellus, in his expedition against Crete; and, in the year of Cicero's banishment, was quæstor in Macedonia. This gave him an opportunity of distinguishing his friendship for our author, by the many good offices he exerted towards him as he passed through that province. Cicero very gratefully remembered them, as appears by his oration in defence of Plancius, when he was accused of illicit practices in obtaining the office of ædile. He seems, in the earlier part of his life, to have indulged himself in the prevailing vices of the fashionable world; but, upon the whole of his character, to have been a man of strict honour and integrity. Cicero particularly celebrates him for his filial piety, and that general esteem in which he lived with all his relations. At the time when this letter was written, he was in Corcyra, a little island in the Ionian sea, now called Corfu. It is probable he retreated thither, with some others of the Pompeian party, after the total overthrow of their army in the plains of Pharsalia. *Orat. pro. Planc.* 7. 11, 12.

I still preserve my former influence in the commonwealth, and wish me joy in the other, of my late marriage². With respect to the first, if to mean well to the interest of my country, and to approve that meaning to every friend of its liberties, may be considered as maintaining my influence, the account you have heard is certainly true. But if it consists in rendering those sentiments effectual to the public welfare, or, at least, in daring freely to support and enforce them; alas! my friend, I have not the least shadow of influence remaining. The fact is, it will be sufficient honour if I can have so much influence over myself as to bear with patience our present and impending calamities; a frame of mind not to be acquired without difficulty, when it is considered that the present war³ is such that if one party is successful, it will be attended with an infinite effusion of blood; and, if the other, with a total extinction of liberty. It affords me some consolation, however, under these dangers, to reflect, that I clearly foresaw them when I declared how greatly I dreaded our victory as well as our defeat;

I was

² See below note 5.

³ Between Cæsar, and the remains of the Pompeian party under the command of Scipio, who had assembled a very considerable army in Africa. Cæsar set out upon this expedition towards the end of December, in the preceding year, about three or four months after his return from the Alexandrine war.

I was perfectly aware of the hazard to which our liberties would be exposed, by referring our political contentions to the decision of the sword. I knew, indeed, if that party should prevail which I joined, not from a passion for war, but merely with the hopes of facilitating an accommodation, what cruelties were to be expected from their pride, their avarice, and their revenge. On the contrary, should they be vanquished, I was sensible what numbers of the best and most illustrious of our fellow-citizens would inevitably perish. And yet, when I forewarned these men of our danger, and justly advised them to avoid it, instead of receiving my admonitions as the effect of a prudential caution, they chose to treat it as the dictates of an unreasonable timidity.

But to turn to your other letter ; I am obliged to you for your good wishes in regard to my marriage^s ; as I am well persuaded that they are perfectly

^s Cicero had very lately divorced his wife Terentia, on occasion of some great offence she had given him in her economical conduct. The person to whom he was now married, was called Publia, a young lady to whom he had been guardian, and of an age extremely disproportionate to his own. His principal inducement to this match, seems to have been her fortune ; which, it is said, was very considerable. However, he did not long enjoy the benefit of it, for finding himself uneasy, likewise, under this second marriage, he soon parted with his young wife, and consequently with her portion. This very unequal match exposed Cicero to much censure ; and Calenus warmly reproaches him with it, in that bitter invective which he delivered, as Dio, at least, pretends,

perfectly sincere. I should have had no thoughts, in these miserable times, of entering into any new engagement of this sort, if I had not, upon my return into Italy, found my domestic affairs in no better a situation than those of the republic. When I discovered that, through the wicked practices of those whom I had infinitely obliged, and to whom my welfare ought to have been infinitely dear, that there was no security for me within my own walls, and that I was surrounded with treachery on all sides, I thought it necessary to protect myself against the perfidiousness of my old connexions, by having recourse to a more faithful alliance.—But enough of my private concerns: and perhaps too much. As to those which relate to yourself, I hope you have the opinion of them which you justly ought, and are free from all particular uneasiness on your own account. For I am well persuaded, that whatever may be the event of public affairs, you will be perfectly secure: as one of the contending parties, I perceive, is already reconciled to you; and the other you have never offended. With respect to my own disposition towards you: though I well know the narrow extent of my power, and how little my services can now avail, yet you may be assured of

pretends, in reply to one of Cicero's against Mark Antony.
Ad Att. xiii. 34. *Dio.* lx. p. 303.

of my most zealous endeavours, at least, upon every occasion wherein either your character or your interest is concerned. In the mean time, let me know, as soon as possible, how it fares with you, and what measures you purpose to pursue. Farewel,

LETTER III.

[A. U. 707.]

TO TORANIUS¹.

ALTHOUGH I imagine this miserable war is either already terminated, by some decisive engagement², or at least is approaching to its conclusion; yet³ * * * * *. I frequently reflect, that there was not a man throughout all the

¹ Suetonius mentions a person of this name, who was elected into the office of *Ædile* with Octavius, the father of Augustus, and who afterwards, notwithstanding he had been guardian to Augustus himself, was in the number of those who perished by the sanguinary proscriptions of that emperor. One of the commentators upon that historian, supposes him to be the same person to whom this letter is addressed; and indeed the conjecture is extremely probable. However, all that can be affirmed with any certainty concerning Toranius is, that he took part in the civil war on the side of Pompey, and that, after the battle of Pharsalia, he retired to Corcyra, as he appears to have been in that island when this letter was written. *Suet. in vit. August. 27.* See the rem. of Mr. Roes, on the *Epist. Famil.* vol. i. p. 498.

² See rem. 3. on the foregoing letter, p. 207.

³ The first period of this letter in the original runs thus: *Etsi cum hæc ad te scriberem, aut appropinquare exitus hujus calamitosissimi belli, aut jam aliquid actum & confectum videbatur; tamen quotidie commemorabam, te unum in tanto exercitu*

the numerous army of Pompey who agreed with you and me in our opinion. We were the only persons, indeed, who were sensible, if there should be no hope of an accommodation, how pregnant with mischief that war must prove, in which torrents of blood would be the consequence, if we were vanquished; and slavery, if we proved victorious⁴. I was represented, at that time, by such wise and heroic spirits as your Domitii and your Lentuli, as a man altogether under the dominion of fear: and fear, I will confess, I did, that those calamities would happen which have since ensued. But I am now totally void of all farther apprehensions; and I stand prepared to meet with indifference whatever it be that fortune may have in reserve. While prudence, indeed, could any thing avail, I lamented to see her dictates neglected. But now that counsel can profit nothing, and that the republic is utterly overturned, the only rational

ercitu mihi fuisse assentorem, & me tibi. The *etsi* and the *tamen* in this sentence, seem to be as absolutely incoherent as if Cicero had said, that “*although* Æneas settled in Italy, *yet* “Cæsar was a consummate general.” It should seem, therefore, that there is some error in the text. Perhaps the proper connecting words that followed *tamen*, have been dropped by the transcribers; and that *Quotidie* was the beginning of a new sentence. The translator has ventured, at least, to proceed upon this conjecture: and the place of the supposed omission is marked by asterisks.

⁴ This is explained by what he says of Pompey in a subsequent letter, p. 344. of this vol.

tional part that remains, is to bear with calmness whatever shall be the event; especially when it is considered, that death is the final period of all human concerns. In the mean time I have the satisfaction to be conscious, that I consulted the dignity of the republic, whilst it was possible to be preserved; and when it could no longer be maintained, that my next endeavour was, to save the commonwealth from being utterly destroyed. I mention this, not to indulge a vanity in talking of myself, but that you, who were entirely united with me in the same sentiments and disposition, may be led into the same train of reflections. For it must undoubtedly afford you great consolation to remember, that whatever turn affairs might have taken, your counsels were perfectly right. May we yet live to see the republic, in some degree at least, again restored! and may we have the satisfaction of one day comparing together the anxiety we mutually suffered, when we were looked upon as men that wanted spirit, merely because we declared that those consequences would happen which have accordingly taken place! Mean while, I will venture to assure you, that you have nothing to apprehend upon your own account, exclusive of the general subversion of the commonwealth. As for myself, be persuaded, that I shall

shall at all times, as far as lies in my power, be ready to exert my utmost services towards you and your family. Farewel.

LETTER IV.

[A. U. 707.]

TO^o MARCUS TERENTIUS VARRO.

ATTICUS lately read a letter to me that he had received from you, by which I was informed where you are, and in what manner employed: but it mentioned no circumstance that could

* Marcus Terentius Varro had been lieutenant to Pompey in the piratic war; in which he distinguished himself with so much advantage, as to be honoured with a naval crown: an honour usually conferred on those who had signalized their valour in a sea engagement. He was afterwards appointed, in conjunction with Afranius and Petreius, lieutenant to Pompey in Spain: and he was serving in that quality, when the civil war broke out. He was at that time at the head of two legions in the farther Spain: but his colleagues having been defeated by Cæsar, he found himself in no condition to resist; and accordingly surrendered himself and his army into the hands of the conqueror. He seems from that time to have withdrawn from public affairs, and to have consecrated the remainder of his life (which he is said to have preserved, with all his senses entire, to the age of an hundred) wholly to philosophical studies. His genius and talents, indeed, were principally of the literary kind: in which he was universally acknowledged to hold the first rank among his contemporaries. He published many treatises in all the various branches of human science: one or two of the least considerable of which, and those not entire, are the whole that now remain of his numberless compositions. *Cæs. Bel. Civil.* 17. &c. *Val. Max.* viii. 7. *Cic. Academ.* i. 3.

could lead me to guess, when we might expect to see you. I hope, however, that the time of your coming hither is approaching, and that your company will afford me consolation under our general misfortunes: though, indeed, they are so numerous and so severe, that it is a folly to expect any thing will be sufficient for that purpose. Nevertheless, there are some instances, perhaps, in which we may prove of mutual assistance to each other. For since my return to Rome, you must know, I am reconciled to those old companions of mine, my books. Not that I was estranged from them out of any disgust; but that I could not look upon them without some sort of shame. It seemed, indeed, that I had ill observed their precepts, when I joined with perfidious associates in taking part in our public commotions. They are willing, however, to pardon my error, and invite me to renew my former acquaintance with them; applauding, at the same time, your superior wisdom, in never having forsaken their society⁷. Thus restored, therefore, as I am to their good graces, may I not hope, if I can unite your company with theirs, to support myself under the pressure of our present and impending

⁷ Varro's books were his companions, it seems, in the camp as well as in the closet, and he was never wholly separated from them, it appears, even amidst the most active engagements of public life.

impending calamities? Wherever then you shall choose I should join you, be it at Tusculum, at Cumæ^s, or at Rome, I shall most readily obey your summons. The place I last named would, indeed, be the least acceptable to me. But it is of no great consequence where we meet: for if we can but be together, I will undertake to render the place of meeting equally agreeable to both of us. Farewel.

LETTER V.

[A. U. 707.]

TO TORIANUS.

As I wrote to you three days ago by some domestics of Plancius, I shall be so much the shorter at present: and as my former⁹ was a letter of consolation, this shall be one of advice.

I think nothing can be more for your advantage than to remain in your present situation till you shall be able to learn in what manner you are to act. For not to mention that you will by this mean avoid the danger of a long winter-voyage, in a sea that affords but few harbours: there is this very material consideration, that you may soon cross over into Italy,

^s Varro had a villa near each of these places.

⁹ Probably the third letter of this book.

Italy, whenever you shall receive any certain intelligence. Nor do I see any reason for your being desirous of presenting yourself to Cæsar's friends in their return. In short, I have many other objections to your scheme: for the particulars of which I refer you to our friend Chilo. You cannot, indeed, in these unfortunate times, be more conveniently placed, than where you now are: as you may, with great facility and expedition, transport yourself from thence, to whatever other part of the world you shall find it necessary to remove. If Cæsar should return at the time he is expected¹, you may be in Italy soon enough to wait upon him: but should any thing happen (as many things possibly may) to prevent or retard his march, you are in a place where you may receive an early information of all that occurs. To repeat it, therefore, once more, I am altogether of opinion, that you should continue in your present quarters. I will only add, (what I have often exhorted you in my former letters to be well persuaded of) that you have nothing to fear beyond the general danger to which every citizen of Rome is equally exposed. And though this, it must be owned, is sufficiently great; yet we can both of us look back with so much satisfaction upon our past conduct,

¹ From Africa. See rem. 3. p. 207. of this vol.

duct, and are arrived at such a period of life^a, that we ought to bear with particular fortitude whatever unmerited fate may attend us.

Your family here are all well, and extremely regret your absence: as they love and honour you with the highest tenderness and esteem.—Take care of your health: and by no means remove without duly weighing the consequences. Farewel.

LETTER VI.

[A. U. 707.]

To DOMITIUS^b.

IF you have not heard from me since your arrival in Italy, it is not that I was discouraged from

^a Cicero was at this time about 62 years of age.

^b The person to whom this letter is addressed, is supposed to have been the son of Domitius Ænobarbus, who commanded the garrison of Corfinium at the breaking out of the civil war. [See vol. ii. p. 115. rem. 6.] The father was killed in his flight from the battle of Pharsalia: [*Cæs. Bel. Civ.* iii. 99.] after which his son, as it should seem by this letter, returned into Italy. He is mentioned in the list of those who were concerned in assassinating Cæsar. "But he managed his affairs (as Mr. Ross observes) with so much address, that, after the death of Brutus and Cassius, he first made his peace with Antony, and then, upon the decline of his power, took an occasion to leave him and join himself with Augustus. And though he did not live long enough to enjoy the benefit of that union; yet he left a son, who recovered the ancient splendour of the family, and laid a foundation for the empire, which took place in the person of his grand-son Nero." *Suet. in Nero; &c. Patern.* ii. 72.

from writing on my part, by the profound silence you have observed on yours. The single reason was, that I could find nothing to say. For on the one hand, I was in every respect too much distressed, as well as too much at a loss how to act myself, to offer you either assistance or advice: and, on the other, I knew not what consolation to suggest to you, under these our severe and general misfortunes. However, notwithstanding public affairs are so far from being in a better situation at present, that they are growing every day more and more desperate; yet I could not satisfy myself with being silent any longer: and rather chose to send you an empty letter, than not to send you any.

If you were in the number of those who tenaciously persevere in the defence of the republic, beyond all possibility of success, I should employ every argument in my power, to reconcile you to those conditions, though not the most eligible indeed, which are offered to our acceptance. But as you judiciously terminated the noble struggle you made in support of our liberties, by those limits which fortune herself marked out to our opposition; let me conjure you by our long and mutual amity, to preserve yourself²
for

² It looks by this passage as if Domitius had been suspected at this time of an intention to destroy himself.

for the sake of your friends, your mother, your wife, and your children : for the sake of those, in short, to whom you have ever been infinitely dear, and whose welfare and interest depends entirely upon yours. Let me entreat you to call to your aid, in this gloomy season, those glorious precepts of philosophy, in which you have been conversant from your earliest youth : and to support the loss of those with whom you were united by the most tender ties of affection and gratitude², if not with a mind perfectly serene, at least, with a rational and manly fortitude.

How far my present power may reach, I know not ; or rather, indeed, I am sensible that it cannot extend far. This, however, I will assure you, (and it is a promise which I have likewise made to that excellent woman your affectionate mother) that, in whatever instance I imagine my services can avail either to your honour or your welfare, I shall exert them with the same zeal which you have always shewn in regard to myself. If there is any thing, therefore, in which you shall be desirous to employ them, I beg you will let me know : and I will most punctually perform your commands. Indeed, without any such express request, you may depend upon my best offices
on

² The father and friends of Domitius, who had perished in the civil war.

on every occasion, wherein I shall be capable of promoting your interest. Farewel.

LETTER VII.

[A. U. 707.]

TO CNEIUS PLANCIUS⁴.

I HAVE received your very short letter, which informs me of what I never once questioned, but leaves me entirely ignorant in a point I was extremely desirous of knowing. I had not the least doubt, indeed, of the share I enjoy in your friendship ; but wanted much to hear with what resolution you submit to our common calamities : a circumstance, of which if I had been apprised, I should have adapted my letter accordingly. However, though I mentioned in my last, what I thought necessary to say upon that subject, yet it may be proper, at this juncture, just to caution you again, not to imagine that you have any thing particular to fear. It is true, we are every one of us in great danger : but the danger, however, is general and equal⁵. You ought not, therefore, to complain of your own fortune, or think it hard to take your part in calamities that extend to all. Let us then, my friend, preserve the

⁴ See note 1. p. 206. of this vol.

⁵ See the 2d letter of this book.

the same mutual disposition of mind which has ever subsisted between us. I am sure I shall, on my part, and I have reason to hope that you will do so likewise on yours. Farewel.

LETTER VIII.

[A. U. 707.]

TO LUCIUS PLANCUS⁶.

YOU are sensible, I dare say, that, amongst all those friends whom you claim as a sort of paternal inheritance, there is not one so closely attached to you as myself. I do not mean in consideration only of those more conspicuous connexions of a public kind in which I was engaged with your father; but in regard, likewise, to that less observable intercourse of private friendship, which I had the happiness, you well know, of enjoying with him in the highest degree. As this was the source from whence
my

⁶ He was brother to Plancus Bursa, the great enemy of Cicero, and of whom an account has been given in rem. 5. vol. 1. p. 263. Plancus does not seem to have figured in the commonwealth; at least, history does not take much notice of him, till after the death of Cæsar, at which time he was at the head of a considerable army in the farther Gaul, as governor of that province. But as there are several letters in this collection which passed between him and Cicero at that period, the particulars of his character will be best remarked in the observations that will arise upon his conduct in that important crisis. In the mean time, it may be sufficient to observe, that when this letter was written, he was probably an officer under Cæsar in the African war. See rem. 2, on let. 20. B. xii.

my affection for the son originally took its rise: so that affection, in its turn, improved and strengthened my union with the father: especially when I observed you distinguishing me with peculiar marks of respect and esteem, as early as you were capable of forming any judgment of mankind. To this I must add, (what is of itself, indeed, a very powerful cement) the similitude of our tastes and studies: and of those particular studies too, which are of a nature most apt to create an intimacy between men of the same general cast of temper⁷. And now, are you not impatient to learn the purpose of this long introduction? Be assured, then, it is not without just and strong reason, that I have thus enumerated the several motives which concur in forming our amity: as it is in order to plead before you with more advantage the cause of my very intimate friend Ateius Capito⁸. I need not point out to you the variety of fortune with which my life has been chequered: but in all the honours and disgraces I have experienced, Capito has ever most zealously assisted me with his power, his interest, and even with his purse.

Titus

⁷ The studies to which Cicero here alludes, are, probably, those of the philosophical kind.

⁸ Pighius supposes, that this is the same Ateius Capito, who devoted Crassus to destruction when he set out upon his Parthian expedition: of which the reader has already met with an account in rem. 7. p. 128. vol. i, *Pigh. Annal.* iii. 389.

Titus Antistius, who was his near relation, happened to be quæstor in Macedonia (no person having been appointed to succeed him) when Pompey marched his army into that province². Had it been possible for Antistius to have retired, it would have been his first and most earnest endeavour to have returned to Capito, whom he loved with all the tenderness of a filial affection: and, indeed, he was so much the more desirous of joining him, as he knew the high esteem which Capito had ever entertained for Cæsar. But finding himself thus unexpectedly in the hands of Pompey, it was not in his power wholly to decline the functions of his office: however, he acted no farther than he was absolutely constrained. I cannot deny, that he was concerned in coining the silver at Apollonia¹. But he was by no means a principal in that affair: and two or three months were the utmost that he engaged in it. From that time he withdrew from Pompey's camp, and totally avoided all public employment. I hope you will credit this assertion, when I assure you, that I know it to be fact: for, indeed, Antistius saw how much I was dissatisfied

² When Pompey retreated before Cæsar, and abandoned Italy.

¹ For the payment of Pompey's army. Apollonia was a city in Thrace: a part of Greece annexed to the province of Macedonia.

fed with the war, and consulted with me upon all his measures. Accordingly, that he might have no part in it, he withdrew, as far as possible, from Pompey's camp, and concealed himself in the interior parts of Macedonia. After the battle of Pharsalia he retired to his friend Aulus Plautius², in Bithynia. It was here that he had an interview with Cæsar³, who received him without the least mark of displeasure, and ordered him to return to Rome. But he soon afterwards contracted an illness, which he carried with him into Coreyra, where it put an end to his life. By his will, which was made at Rome in the consulate of Paulus and Marcellus, he has left ten twelfths, of his estate to Capito. The remaining two parts, amounting to 300,000 sesterces⁴, he has devised to those for whose interest no mortal can be concerned: and, therefore, I am not in the least solicitous whether Cæsar shall think proper, or not, to seize it as forfeited to the public. But I most earnestly conjure you, my dear Plancus, to consider the cause of Capito as my own, and to employ your influence with Cæsar, that my friend may be permitted to inherit this legacy; agreeably

² At that time governor of Bithynia, an Asiatic province situated on the Euxine sea.

³ Probably in his return from the Alexandrine war.

⁴ About 2400*l.* of our money.

agreeably to the will of his relation. I entreat you by all the various ties of our friendship, as well as by those, likewise, which subsisted between your father and myself, to exert your most zealous and active offices for this purpose. Be assured, if you were to grant me all that lies within the compass of your extensive credit and power, you could not more effectually oblige me than by complying with my present request. I hope it may be a means of facilitating your success upon this occasion, that Capito, as Cæsar himself can witness, has ever held him in the highest esteem and affection. But Cæsar, I know, never forgets any thing: I forbear, therefore, to furnish you with particular instances of Capito's attachment to him, and only desire you to make a proper use of those which are fresh in Cæsar's memory. It may not, however, be unnecessary to point out one proof of this sort, which I myself experienced: and I will leave it to your own judgment to determine how far the mentioning of it may avail. I need not tell you by what party my interest had been supported, nor whose cause I espoused in our public divisions. But believe me, whatever measures I pursued in this war, which were unacceptable to Cæsar, (and I have the satisfaction to find that he is sensible of it himself) were most contrary to my own inclinations, and merely in compliance with

the persuasions and authority of others. But if I conducted myself with more moderation than any of those who were joined with me in the same cause; it is principally owing to the advice and admonitions of Cæsar. To say truth, if the rest of my friends had been influenced by the same spirit with which he was actuated, I might have taken a part that would have proved of some advantage, perhaps, to my country; I am sure, at least, of much to myself^s. In one word, my dear Plancus, your gratifying my present request, will confirm me in the hope that I possess a place in your affection: and at the same time extremely contribute to your own advantage, in adding, by a very important obligation,

the

^s The part which Cicero here accuses his friends, (and surely with some want of generosity) that they would not suffer him to act, seems to have been that of standing neuter in the war between Pompey and Cæsar. And it must be owned that this conduct would have been far less exceptionable, if, instead of faintly joining with one side, he had determined to engage with neither. This too, as the event proved, might have been most prudential in point of interest: for a neutrality was all that Cæsar desired of him. But that it could in any sort have advantaged his country, appears to be a notion altogether improbable, and advanced only to give a colour to his not having entered with more spirit into the cause of the republic. Cicero often intimates, indeed, that by preserving a neutrality, he might have been more likely to have facilitated an accommodation between Pompey and Cæsar. But it is utterly incredible, from the temper and character of these contending chiefs, that either of them entertained the least disposition for this purpose: as it is certain, from Cicero's own confession in his letters to Atticus, that he was well persuaded Pompey would never listen to any pacific overtures. *Vid. Ad Att. vii. 8, viii. 15.*

the most grateful and worthy Capito to the number of your friends. Farewel.

LETTER XI.

[A. U. 707.]

TO ALLIENUS, Proconsul.

DEMOCRITES of Sicyon is not only my host⁶, but (what I can say of few of his countrymen beside) he is likewise my very intimate friend. He is a person, indeed, of the highest probity and merit, and distinguished for his most generous and polite hospitality towards those who come under his roof: in which number I have received particular marks of his affection and esteem. In one word, you will find him a man of the first and most valuable character amongst his fellow-citizens, I had almost said in all Achaia. I only mean, therefore, by this letter, to introduce him to your acquaintance: for I know your sentiments and disposition so well, that I am persuaded nothing more is necessary to make you think him worthy of being received both as your guest and friend. Let me entreat

⁶ He was at this time proconsul, or governor of Sicily, and distinguished himself by his care and diligence in transporting the troops which Cæsar received from thence in order to carry on the present war in Africa. There is a silver coin still extant, on which is inscribed, A. ALLIENVS. PRO. COS. and on the reverse, C. CÆSAR. IMP. COS. ITER. *Pigh. Annal. iii. 453.*

⁷ See p. 113. of this vol. rem. 3.

entreat you, in the mean time, to favour him with your patronage, and to assure him that, for my sake, he may depend upon all the assistance in your power. If after this you should discover (as I trust you will) that his virtues render him deserving of a nearer intercourse: you cannot more sensibly oblige me than by admitting him into your family and friendship. Farewel.

LETTER X.

[A. U. 707.]

TO LUCIUS MESCINIUS¹.

YOUR letter afforded me great pleasure, as it gave me an assurance (though indeed I wanted none) that you earnestly wish for my company. Believe me, I am equally desirous of yours: and, in truth, when there was a much greater abundance of patriot citizens and agreeable companions, who were in the number of my friends, there was no man with whom I rather chose to associate, and few whose company I liked so well. But now that death, absence, or change of disposition has so greatly contracted this social circle, I should prefer a single day with you, to a whole life with the generality of those with whom I am, at present, obliged to live².

Solitude

¹ See rem. 1. p. 91. of this vol.

² The chiefs of the Cæsarean party: with whom Cicero now found it convenient to cultivate a friendship, in order to ingratiate himself with Cæsar.

Solitude itself, indeed, (if solitude, alas! I were at liberty to enjoy) would be far more eligible, than the conversation of those who frequent my house: one or two of them, at most, excepted. I seek my relief, therefore, (where I would advise you to look for yours) in amusements of a literary kind, and in the consciousness of having always intended well to my country. I have the satisfaction to reflect, (as I dare say you will readily believe) that I never sacrificed the public good to my own private views; that if a certain person (whom for my sake, I am sure, you never loved) had not looked upon me with a jealous eye³, both himself and every friend to liberty had been happy; that I always endeavoured that it should not be in the power of any man to disturb the public tranquillity; and, in a word, that when I perceived those arms, which I had ever dreaded,

would

³ Pompey; who being jealous of the popularity which Cicero had acquired during his consulship, struck in with the designs of Cæsar, and others, who had formed a party against our author. It was by these means that Pompey laid the principal foundation of Cæsar's power, which, without the assistance of the former, could never have prevailed to the destruction both of himself and of the republic. [see rem. 4. p. 3. vol. i.] The censure which Cicero here casts upon Pompey's conduct towards him, is undoubtedly just: but it is a proof, at the same time, how unworthily he flattered that great man in the plenitude of his power, when he professed to have received obligations from him, that gave him the most unquestionable right to his highest gratitude. See rem. ², p. 12. of this vol.

would prove an over-match for that patriot-coalition I had myself formed⁴ in the republic; I thought it better to accept of a safe peace upon any terms, than impotently to contend with a superior force. But I hope shortly to talk over these, and many other points, with you, in person. Nothing, indeed, detains me in Rome, but to wait the event of the war in Africa: which, I imagine, must now be soon decided. And though it seems of little importance on which side the victory shall turn; yet I think it may be of some advantage to be near my friends when the news shall arrive, in order to consult with them on the measures it may be advisable for me to pursue⁴. Affairs are now reduced to such an unhappy situation, that

⁴ Cicero probably alludes to the coalition he formed during his consulship, of the equestrian order with that of the senate: which, indeed, was one of the most shining parts of his administration. "This order, (as Dr. Middleton observes) consisted, next to the senators, of the richest and most splendid families in Rome: who, from the ease and affluence of their fortunes, were naturally well affected to the prosperity of the republic; and being also the constant farmers of all the revenues of the empire, had a great part of the inferior people dependent upon them. Cicero imagined that the united weight of these two orders would always be an overbalance to any other power in the state, and a secure barrier against any attempts of the popular and ambitious upon the common liberty." *Life of Cic.* i. 159. 3vo. edit.

⁴ Cicero would have had great occasion for the advice of his friends, if the remains of Pompey's army had defeated Cæsar's in Africa. For he had reason to expect, and would probably have experienced, the severest effects of their resentment,

that though there is a considerable difference, it is true, between the cause of the contending parties, I believe there will be very little as to the consequence of their success. However, though my spirits were too much dejected, perhaps, whilst our affairs remained in suspense; I find myself much more composed now that they are utterly desperate. Your last letter has contributed to confirm me in this disposition; as it is an instance of the magnanimity with which you support your unjust disgrace⁵. It is with particular satisfaction I observe, that you owe this heroic calmness, not only to philosophy, but to temper. For I will confess, that I imagined your mind was softened with that too delicate sensibility which we, who passed our lives in the ease and freedom of Rome, were apt in general to contract. But as we bore our prosperous days with moderation; it becomes us to bear our adverse fortune, or more properly, indeed, our irretrievable ruin, with fortitude. This advantage we may at least derive from our extreme calamities; that they will teach us to look upon death with contempt: which, even if we were happy, we ought to despise, as a state of total insensibility;

ment, if they had returned victorious into Italy. *Vid. Epist. Famil. ix. 6.*

⁵ Mescinius, it is probable, was banished by Cæsar, as a partisan of Pompey, to a certain distance from Rome.

insensibility⁶; but which, under our present afflictions, should be the object of our constant wishes

⁶ Cicero expresses himself to the same purpose, in two or three other of these letters. Thus, in one to Torquatus; *non ero, sensu omnino carebo*: and in another to Toranius; *Una ratio videtur, quicquid evenerit ferre moderate; præsertim cum omnium rerum mors sit extremum*. From whence it has been inferred, that Cicero, in his private opinion, rejected the doctrine of the soul's immortality. In answer to which it may be observed, in the first place, that these passages, without any violence of construction, may be interpreted as affirming nothing more, than that death is an utter extinction of all sensibility with respect to human concerns: as it was a doubt with some of the ancients whether departed spirits did not still retain a knowledge of what passed in this world. In the next place, admitting these several passages to be so many clear and positive assertions, that the soul perishes with the body; yet it would by no means follow, that this was Cicero's real belief. It is usual with him to vary his sentiments in these letters, in accommodation to the principles or circumstances of his correspondents. Thus, in a letter to Dolabella, he does not scruple to say, *sum avidior quam satis est gloriæ*: But in writing to Cato, he represents himself of a disposition entirely the reverse: *ipsam quidem gloriam per se nunquam putavi expetendam*. In a letter to Torquatus, when he is endeavouring to reconcile him to his banishment from Rome, he lays it down as a maxim, that *in malis omnibus acerbius est videre quam audire*: but, in another letter to Marcellus, written in order to persuade him to return to Rome, he reasons upon a principle directly opposite, and tells him, *non est tui uno sensu oculorum moveri: cum idem illud auribus percipias, quod etiam majus videri solet*, &c. Other instances of the same variation from himself might be produced: but these, together with those that have already been occasionally pointed out in the course of these remarks, are sufficient, perhaps, to evince, that Cicero's real sentiments and opinions cannot be proved by any particular passages in these letters. In those to Atticus, indeed, he was generally, though not always, more sincere: and Mr. Ross has cited a passage from one of them, in which Cicero very expressly mentions his expectations of a future state: *tempus est nos de illa perpetua jam, says he, non de hac exigua vita cogitare*. But Cicero's speculative

wishes. Let not any fears then, I conjure you by your affection for me, disturb the peace of your retirement: and be well persuaded, nothing can befall a man that deserves to raise his dread and horror, but (what I am sure ever was, and ever will be, far from you) the reproaches of a guilty heart.

I purpose to pay you a visit very soon, if nothing should happen to make it necessary for me to change my resolution: and if there should, I will immediately let you know. But I hope you will not, whilst you are in so weak a condition, be tempted by your impatience of seeing me, to remove from your present situation: at least, not without previously consulting me. In the mean time, continue to love me; and take care both of your health and your repose. Farewel.

LETTER XI.

[A. U. 707.]

TO ALLIENUS, Proconsul.

As you are no stranger, I imagine, to the esteem I entertained for Avianus Flaccus; so I have often heard him acknowledge the generous

culative notions are best determined, by looking into his philosophical writings: and these abound with various and full proofs, that he was strongly persuaded of the soul's immortality. *Epist. Famil.* ix. 14. xv. 4. vi. 4. iv. 9. *Ad Att.* x. 8. see also *Life of Cic.* iii. 341. 8vo. edit.

rous manner in which you formerly treated him; as, indeed, no man ever possessed a more grateful or better heart. His two sons, Caius and Marcus, inherit all the virtues of their father: and I most warmly recommend them to your protection, as young men for whom I have a very singular affection. Caius is now in Sicily: and Marcus is at present with me. I entreat you to shew every mark of honour to the former, and to take the affairs of both under your patronage; assuring yourself, that you cannot render me in your government a more acceptable service. Farewel.

LETTER XII.

[A. U. 707.]

TO VARRO.

THOUGH I have nothing to write, yet I could not suffer Caninius to pay you a visit, without taking the opportunity of conveying a letter by his hands. And now I know not what else to say, but that I propose to be with you very soon: an information, however, which I am persuaded you will be glad to receive. But will it be altogether decent to appear in so gay a scene⁷, at a time when Rome is in such a general

⁷ Varro seems to have requested Cicero to give him a meeting at Baizæ, a place much frequented by the Romans on account of its hot baths: as the agreeableness of its situation

neral flame? And shall we not furnish an occasion of censure to those, who do not know that we observe the same sober philosophical life, in all seasons, and in every place? Yet, after all, what imports it? since the world will talk of us in spite of our utmost caution. And, indeed, whilst our censurers are immersed in every kind of flagitious debauchery; it is much worth our concern, truly, what they say of our innocent relaxations. In just contempt, therefore, of these illiterate barbarians, it is my resolution to join you very speedily. I know not how it is, indeed, but it should seem that our favourite studies are attended with much greater advantages in these wretched times than formerly: whether it be that they are now our only resource; or that we were less sensible of their salutary effects, when we were in too happy a state to have occasion to experience them.—

But

ation on the bay of Naples, rendered it at the same time the general resort of the pleasurable world. The tender Propertius has addressed some pretty lines to his Cynthia at this place, which sufficiently intimate in what manner the Roman ladies were amused in that dangerous scene of gallantry and dissipation.

*Tu modo quam primum corruptas desere Baias,
Multis ista dabunt littora dissidium:
Littora quæ fuerant castis inimica puellis, &c.*

*Fly, fly, my love, soft Baiæ's tainted coast,
Where many a pair connubial peace have lost;
Where many a maid shall guilty joys deplore:
Ah fly, my fair, detested Baiæ's shore!*

But this is sending owls to Athens^{*}, as we say; and suggesting reflections which your own mind will far better supply. All that I mean by them, however, is, to draw a letter from you in return, at the same time that I give you notice to expect me soon. Farewel.

LETTER XIII.

[A. U. 707.]

To the same.

OUR friend Caninius paid me a visit, some time ago, very late in the evening, and informed me that he purposed to set out for your house the next morning. I told him I would give him two or three lines to deliver to you, and desired he would call for them in the morning. Accordingly I wrote to you that night[†]; but as he did not return, I imagined he had forgotten his promise; and should, therefore, have sent that letter by one of my own domestics, if Caninius had not assured me of your intention to leave Tusculum the next morning. However, after a few days had intervened, and I had given over all expectations of Caninius, he
made

^{*} A proverbial expression of the same import with that of "sending coals to Newcastle." It alludes to the Athenian coin, which was stamped (as Manutius observes) with the figure of an owl.

[†] Probably the preceding letter.

made me a second visit, and acquainted me that he was instantly setting out to you. But, notwithstanding the letter I had written was then become altogether out of date, especially after the arrival of such important news¹; yet, as I was unwilling that any of my profound lucubrations should be lost, I delivered it into the hands of that very learned and affectionate friend of yours: who, I suppose, has acquainted you with the conversation which passed between us at the same time.

I think it most prudent for both of us to avoid the view, at least, if we cannot so easily escape the remarks of the world. For those who are elevated with this victory, look down upon us with an air of triumph; and those who regret it, are displeased that we did not sacrifice our lives in the cause. But you will ask, perhaps, (as it is in Rome, that we are particularly exposed to these mortifications) why I have not followed your example in retiring from the city? But tell me, my friend, superior as your judgment confessedly is, did you never find yourself mistaken? Or who is there, in times of such total darkness and confusion, that can always be sure of directing his steps aright? I have long thought, indeed, that it would be
happy

¹ Concerning Cæsar's defeat of Scipio in Africa.

happy for me to retire where I might neither see, nor hear, what passes in Rome. But my groundless suspicions discouraged me from executing this scheme: as I was apprehensive that those who might accidentally meet me on my way, would put such constructions upon my retreat, as best suited with their own purposes. Some, I imagined, would suspect, or at least pretend to suspect, that I was either driven from Rome by my fears, or withdrew in order to form some revolution abroad; and, perhaps, too, would report, that I had actually provided a ship for that purpose. Others, I feared, who knew me best, and might be disposed to think most favourably of my actions, would be apt to impute my recess to an abhorrence of a certain party³. It is these apprehensions that have hitherto, contrary to my inclinations indeed, detained me in Rome: but custom, however, has familiarized the unpleasant scene, and gradually hardened me into a less exquisite sensibility.

Thus I have laid before you the motives which induce me to continue here. As to what relates to your own conduct; I would advise you to remain in your present retirement, till the warmth of our public exultation shall be somewhat

³ The Cæsareans.

what abated, and it shall certainly be known in what manner affairs abroad are terminated: for terminated, I am well persuaded, they are*. Much will depend on the general result of this battle, and the temper in which Cæsar may return. And though I see, already, what is abundantly sufficient to determine my sentiments as to that point, yet I think it most adviseable to wait the event. In the mean time, I should be glad you would postpone your journey to Baia, till the first transports of this clamorous joy is subsided: as it will have a better appearance to meet you at those waters, when I may seem to go thither rather to join with you in lamenting the public misfortunes, than to participate in the pleasures of the place. But this I submit to your more enlightened judgment: only let us agree to pass our lives together in those studies, which were once, indeed, nothing more than our amusement, but must now, alas! prove our principal support. Let us be ready, at the same time, whenever we shall be called upon, to contribute not only our councils, but our labours, in repairing the ruins of the republic. But if none shall require our services

* When this letter was written, there seems to have been only some general accounts arrived of Cæsar's success in Africa; but the particulars of the battle were not yet known.

services for this purpose, let us employ our time and our thoughts upon moral and political inquiries. If we cannot benefit the commonwealth in the forum and the senate; let us endeavour, at least, to do so by our studies and our writings: and after the example of the most learned among the ancients, contribute to the welfare of our country, by useful disquisitions concerning laws and government.

And now, having thus acquainted you with my sentiments and purposes, I shall be extremely obliged to you for letting me know your's in return. Farewel.

LETTER XIV.

[A. U. 707.]

To the same.

YOU must know, my friend, that I am one of those philosophers who hold the doctrine of Diodorus concerning contingencies⁷. Accordingly

⁷ Diodorus was a Greek philosopher who lived in the court of Ptolomæus Soter, and flourished about 280 years before the Christian æra. He is said to have died with grief for not being able immediately to solve a philosophical question, which that prince put to him in conversation. He maintained that nothing could be contingent; but that whatever was possible must necessarily happen. Cicero ludicrously applies this absurd doctrine to the intended visit of his friend. *Cic. de fato. 7.*

ingly I maintain, that, if you should make us a visit here, you are under an absolute necessity of so doing; but if you should not, that it is because your coming hither is in the number of those things which cannot possibly happen.--- Now tell me which of the two opinions you are most inclined to adopt: whether this of the philosopher I just now mentioned, whose sentiments, you know, were so little agreeable to our honest friend Diodotus⁸, or the opposite one of Chrysippus⁹? But we will reserve these curious speculations, till we shall be more at leisure: and this, I will agree with Chrysippus, is a possibility which either may or may not happen, I am

⁸ Diodotus was a stoic philosopher, under whom Cicero had been educated, and whom he afterwards entertained for many years in his house. He died about thirteen years before the date of this letter, and left his friend and pupil a considerable legacy. *Cic. Academ. ii. Ad Att. ii. 20.*

⁹ Chrysippus was successor to Zeno, the celebrated founder of the Stoic School. It appears, by a list of some of his writings, which Laertius has given, that he published a treatise on Fate; and probably it was in this book that he opposed the ridiculous notions of Diodotus. Seneca represents him as a penetrating genius, but one whose speculations were somewhat too subtle and refined. He adds, that his diction was so extremely close, that he never employed a superfluous word; a character he could scarce deserve, if what is reported of him be true, that he published no less than 311 treatises upon logic, and above 400 upon other subjects.— One cannot hear, indeed, of such an immoderate flux of pen, without being in some danger of suffering the same fate that attended this inexhaustible genius, who is said to have died in a fit of excessive laughter. *Laertius in vit. Senec de benefic. i. 3. Stanley's Hist. of Philos. 487.*

I am obliged to you for your good offices in my affair with Cocceius*, which I likewise recommend to Atticus. If you will not make me a visit, I will pay you one; and, as your library is situated in your garden, I shall want nothing to complete my two favourite amusements—reading and walking. Farewel.

LETTER XV.

[A. U. 707.]

TO APULBIUS, Proquæstor†.

LUCIUS EGNATIUS, a Roman knight, is a very particular friend of mine, whose affairs in Asia, together with his slave Anchialus, who superintends them, I recommend to you with as much zeal as if they were my own. For be assured we are united to each other, not only by a daily intercourse of the highest friendship, but by many good offices that have been mutually exchanged between us. As he has not the least doubt of your disposition to oblige

* In the text he is called *Costius*; but, perhaps, (as one of the commentators imagines) it should be *Cocceius*. For Cicero, in a letter to Atticus, supposed to have been written about the same time with the present, requests his assistance in procuring the payment of a sum of money, owing to him from Cocceius; which is not unlikely to be the same affair he alludes to in this passage. *Ad Att.* xii. 13.

† It is wholly uncertain both who this person was, and when he exercised the office of proquæstor.

oblige me, let me earnestly entreat you to convince him, by your services in his favour, that I warmly requested them. Farewel.

LETTER XVI.

[A. U. 707.]

TO VARRO.

THE 7th seems to be a very proper time, not only in consideration of public affairs, but in regard also to the season of the year: I approve, therefore, of the day you have named, and will join you accordingly.

I should be far from thinking we had reason to reproach ourselves for the part we have lately acted, even were it true that those who pursued a different conduct had not repented of their measures. It was the suggestions of duty, not of interest, that we followed, when we entered into the war; and it was a cause utterly desperate, not the duty we owed our country, that we deserted, when we laid down our arms. Thus we acted, on the one hand, with greater honour than those who would not leave Italy, in order to follow the war abroad; and, on the other hand, with more prudence than those who, after having suffered a total defeat^b, would not be prevailed upon to return home.

^b At the battle of Pharsalia.

home. But there is nothing that I can bear with less patience than the affected severity of our inglorious neuters: and, indeed, whatever might be the final event of affairs, I should be much more inclined to venerate the memory of those mistaken men who obstinately perished in battle, than to be in the least concerned at the reproaches of those who only lament that we are still alive.

If I should have time, I purpose to call upon you at Tusculum before the 7th: if not, I will follow you to Cumæ, agreeably to your appointment. But I shall not fail to give you previous notice, that your bath may be prepared. Farewel,

LETTER XVII.

[A. U. 707.]

To the same.

YOUR letters to Seius and myself were delivered to us, whilst we were at supper together, in his house. I agree with you in thinking that this is a very proper time for your intended expedition; which, to own my artifice, I have hitherto endeavoured to retard by a thousand pretences. I was desirous, indeed, of keeping you near me, in case any favourable

able news should have arrived². For, as Homer sings,

The wise new wisdom from the wise acquire³.

But now that the whole affair is decided, beyond all doubt you should set forward with the utmost speed.

When I heard of the fate that has attended Lucius Cæsar⁴, I could not forbear saying to myself, with the old man in the play, "What *tenderness* then may not I expect⁵!" For this reason I am a constant guest at the tables of our present potentates: and what can I do better, you know, than prudently swim with the

² Concerning the success of the Pompeian party against Cæsar, in Africa; an event, if it had taken place, that would extremely have embarrassed Cicero. For which reason he was desirous of keeping Varro within his reach, that he might immediately have consulted with him in what manner to act. See rem. 3. p. 155. of this vol.

³ Il. X. 224. Pope's transl.

⁴ He was a distant relation of Julius Cæsar; whom, however, he had constantly opposed throughout the civil war.—Lucius, being taken prisoner at the late battle of Thapsus, where Cæsar gained a complete victory over the combined troops of Scipio and Juba, obtained the conqueror's pardon; but Cæsar afterwards changed his mind, and gave private orders to have him assassinated. *Dio. xliii. p. 219.*

⁵ This alludes to a passage in the *Andria* of Terence, where Simo, the father of Pamphilus, giving an account of his son's tender behaviour at the funeral of Chrysis, could not forbear reflecting, he says, *Quid mihi hic faciet patri!* But Cicero applies it in a different sense, and means that, if Cæsar acted towards his own relations with so much cruelty, he had little reason to expect a milder treatment.

the current of the times? But, to be serious, (for serious, in truth, we have reason to be)

*See vengeance stalk o'er Afric's trembling plain;
And one wide waste of horrid ruin reign!*

A circumstance that fills me with very uneasy apprehensions.

I am unable to answer your question, when Cæsar will arrive, or where he proposes to land. Some, I find, doubt whether it will be at Baiæ; and they now talk of his coming home by the way of Sardinia. It is certain, at least, that he has not yet visited this part of his *demesnes*: and though he has not a worse *farm*² upon all his *estate*, he is far, however, from holding it in contempt. For my own part, I am more inclined to imagine he will take Sicily in his return.

² These lines are quoted from Ennius, a poet, of whom some account has been given in the foregoing remarks. The troops of Cæsar pursued their victory over those of Scipio with great cruelty: *acrior Cæsarianorum impetus fuit*, says Florus, *indignantium post Pompeium crevisse bellum*. Numbers, indeed, of Scipio's army must necessarily have been massacred in cool blood; for the historians agree that Cæsar's loss amounted only to 50 men, whereas 10,000 were killed on the side of Scipio, according to the account which Hirtius gives of this action; and five times that number, if we may credit Plutarch. *Flor. iv. 2. Hirt. Bel. Afric. 86. Plut. in vit. Cæsar.*

³ The island of Sardinia was, in the time of the Romans, (what it still is) extremely barren and unwholesome. Martial has a pretty allusion to this latter circumstance, in one of his epigrams:

*Nullo fata loco possis excludere: cum mors
Venerit, in medio Tibure Sardinia est.* iv. 60.

return. But these doubts will soon be cleared up, as Dolabella⁹ is every moment expected. I believe, therefore, I must take my instructions from my disciple¹⁰; as many a pupil, you know, has become a greater adept than his master. However, if I knew what you had determined upon, I should chiefly regulate my measures by yours; for which purpose I expect a letter from you with great impatience. Farewel.

LETTER XVIII.

[A. U. 707.]

TO APULEIUS, Proquæstor.

LUCIUS ZOILUS was appointed, by the will of his patron, coheir, in conjunction with me. I mention this, not only to shew you the occasion of my friendship with him, but as an evidence, likewise, of his merit, by being thus distinguished

⁹ Dolabella attended Cæsar in the African war.

¹⁰ Cicero means that he should learn from Dolabella where Cæsar purposed to land, and in what temper he was returning into Italy, together with such other circumstances as it was necessary he should be apprised of, in order to pay his personal congratulations to the conqueror in the most proper and acceptable manner. It seems probable, from this passage, that Dolabella had formed his eloquence under Cicero, agreeably to an excellent custom which prevailed in Rome, of introducing the youth, upon their first entrance into business, to the acquaintance and patronage of some distinguished orator of the forum, whom they constantly attended in all the public exercises of his profession. *Auct. Dialog. de caus. corrupt. eloquent.* 34.

distinguished by his patron. I recommend him, therefore, to your favour, as one of my own family; and you will oblige me in letting him see that you were greatly influenced to his advantage by this letter. Farewel.

LETTER XIX.

[A. U. 707.]

TO VARRO.

OUR friend Caninius acquainted me with your request that I would write to you whenever there was any news which I thought it concerned you to know. You are already informed that we are in daily expectation of Cæsar²; but I am now to tell you that, as it was his intention, it seems, to have landed at Alsium³, his friends have written to dissuade him from that design. They think that his coming on shore at that place will prove extremely troublesome to himself, as well as very much incommode many others; and have therefore recommended Ostia⁴

as

² Cæsar returned victorious from Africa, about the 26th of July, in the present year; so that this letter was probably written either in the beginning of that month, or the latter end of June. *Hirt. de Bel. Afric.* 98.

³ The situation of this place is not exactly known: some geographers suppose it to be the same town which is now called *Severæ*, a sea-port about twenty-five miles distant from Rome, on the western coast of Italy.

⁴ It still retains its ancient name, and is situated at the mouth of the Tiber.

as a more convenient port. For my own part, I can see no difference. Hirtius⁵, however, assures me, that himself as well as Balbus⁶, and Oppius⁷ (who, let me observe by the way, are every one of them greatly in your interest) have written to Cæsar for this purpose. I thought proper, therefore, to send you this piece of intelligence for two reasons. In the first place, that you might know where to engage a lodging; or rather, that you might secure one in both these towns; for it is extremely uncertain at which of them Cæsar will disembark. And in the next place, in order to indulge a little piece of vanity, by shewing you that I am so well with these favourites of Cæsar, as to be admitted into their privy council. To speak seriously, I see no reason to decline their friendship; for, surely, there is a wide difference between submitting to evils we cannot remedy, and approving measures that we ought to condemn⁸.

Though,

⁵ He lived in great intimacy with Cæsar, and had served under him in quality of one of his lieutenants in Gaul. It appears, by this passage, that he did not attend Cæsar into Africa; so that if the history of that war annexed to Cæsar's commentaries, was really written, as is generally supposed, by Hirtius, he was not an eye-witness of what he relates; a circumstance which considerably weakens the authority of his account.

⁶ See rem. 2. p. 319. vol. i.

⁷ See rem. 9. p. 134. of this vol.

⁸ To cultivate friendships with the leaders of a successful faction, has surely something in it that much resembles the approving

Though, to confess the truth, I do not know there are any that I can justly blame, except those which involved us in the civil wars; for these, it must be owned, were altogether voluntary. I saw, indeed, (what your distance from Rome prevented you from observing⁹) that our party were eager for war; while Cæsar, on the contrary, appeared less inclined than afraid to have recourse to arms. Thus far, therefore, our calamities might have been prevented, but all beyond was unavoidable; for one side or the other must necessarily prove superior. Now we both of us, I am sure, always lamented those infinite mischiefs that would ensue, whichever general of the two contending armies should happen to fall in battle; as we were well convinced, that of all the complicated evils which attend a civil war, victory is the supreme. I dreaded it, indeed, even on that side which both you and I thought proper to join, as they threatened most cruel vengeance on those who stood neuter; and were
no

approving of measures which we ought to condemn; and though it may be policy, most certainly it is not patriotism. It ill agrees, at least, with that sort of abstracted life, which Cicero, in the first letter of this book, declares he proposed to lead, if the republic should be destroyed. *Vid. Epist. Famil. vii. 3.*

⁹ Varro, at the breaking out of the civil war, was in Spain; where he resided in quality of one of Pompey's lieutenants.

no less offended at your sentiments than at my speeches. But had they gained this last battle, we should still more severely have experienced the effects of their power, as our late conduct had incensed them to the highest degree. Yet what measures have we taken for our own security, that we did not warmly recommend for their's? And how have they more advantaged the republic by having recourse to Juba and his elephants¹⁰, than if they had perished by their own swords, or submitted to live under the present system of affairs, with some hopes, at least, if not with the fairest. But they may tell us, perhaps, (and, indeed, with truth) that the government under which we have chosen to live, is altogether turbulent and unsettled. Let this objection, however, have weight with those who have treasured up no stores in their minds to support themselves under all the possible vicissitudes of human affairs; a reflection, which brings me round to what I principally had in view, when I undesignedly wandered into this long digression. I was going to have said, that as I always looked upon your character with great

¹⁰ These elephants were drawn up in the front of the right and left wing of Scipio's army. But being driven back upon the line behind them, they put the ranks into great confusion; and, instead of proving of any advantage to Scipio, contributed to facilitate his defeat. *Hirt. de Bel. Afric.* 83.

great admiration, so nothing raises it higher in my esteem, than to observe that you are almost the only person, in these tempestuous days, who has wisely retreated into harbour, and are enjoying the happy fruits of those important studies which are attended with more public advantage, as well as private satisfaction, than all the ambitious exploits, or voluptuous indulgencies of these licentious victors. The contemplative hours you spend at your Tusculan villa, are, in my estimation, indeed, what alone deserve to be called life; and I would willingly renounce the whole wealth and splendour of the world, to be at liberty to pass my time in the same philosophical manner. I follow your example, however, as far as the circumstances in which I am placed will permit, and have recourse, with great satisfaction of mind, to my favourite studies. Since our country, indeed, either cannot or will not accept our services, who shall condemn us for returning to that contemplative privacy which many philosophers have thought preferable (I will not say with reason, however, they have preferred) even to the most public and patriot labours? And why should we not indulge ourselves in those learned inquiries, which some of the greatest men have deemed a just dispensation from all public employments;

ployments; when it is a liberty, at the same time, which the commonwealth itself is willing to allow us. But I am going beyond the commission which Caninius gave me, and while he only desired that I would acquaint you with those articles of which you were not already apprised, I am telling you what you know far better than I can inform you. For the future, I shall confine myself more strictly to your request, and will not fail of communicating to you whatever intelligence I may learn, which I shall think it imports you to know. Farewel.

LETTER XX.

[A. U. 707.]

TO PAPIRIUS PÆTUS¹.

YOUR letter afforded me a very agreeable instance of your friendship, in the concern it expressed lest I should be uneasy at the report which had been brought hither by Silius². I was before, indeed, perfectly sensible how much you were disturbed at this circumstance, by your
care

¹ See vol. 2. p. 15. rem 1.

² Silius, it should seem, had brought an account from the army, that some witticisms of Cicero had been reported to Cæsar, which had given him offence.

care in sending me duplicates of a former letter upon the same subject; and I then returned such an answer as I thought would be sufficient to abate, at least, if not entirely remove, this your generous solicitude. But since I perceive, by your last letter, how much this affair still dwells upon your mind, let me assure you, my dear Pætus, that I have employed every artifice (for we must now, my friend, be armed with cunning as well as prudence) to conciliate the good graces of the persons you mention; and, if I mistake not, my endeavours have not proved in vain. I receive, indeed, so many marks of respect and esteem from those who are most in Cæsar's favour, that I cannot but flatter myself they have a true regard for me. It must be confessed, at the same time, that a pretended affection is not easily discernible from a real one, unless in seasons of distress. For adversity is to friendship, what fire is to gold; the only infallible test to discover the genuine from the counterfeit; in all other circumstances, they both bear the same common signatures. I have one strong reason, however, to persuade me of their sincerity; as neither their situation nor mine can by any means tempt them to dissemble with me. As to that person³ in whom all power is now centered, I am

NOT

³ Cæsar.

not sensible that I have any thing to fear from him; or nothing more, at least, than what arises from that general precarious state in which all things must stand where the fence of laws is broken down; and, from its being impossible to pronounce with assurance concerning any event which depends wholly upon the will, not to say the caprice, of another. But this I can, with confidence, affirm, that I have not, in any single instance, given him just occasion to take offence; and, in the article you point out, I have been particularly cautious. There was a time, 'tis true, when I thought it well became me, by whom Rome itself was free^d, to speak my sentiments with freedom; but now that our liberties are no more, I deem it equally agreeable to my present situation, not to say any thing that may disgust either Cæsar or his favourites. But were I to suppress every rising raillery, that might pique those at whom it is directed, I must renounce, you know, all my reputation as a wit. And, in good earnest, it is a character upon which I do not set so high a value, as to be unwilling to resign it, if it were in my power. However, I am in no danger of suffering in Cæsar's opinion, by being represented as the author of any
sarcasms

^d Alluding to his services in the suppression of Catiline's conspiracy.

sarcasms to which I have no claim : for his judgment is much too penetrating ever to be deceived by any imposition of this nature. I remember your brother Servius, whom I look upon to have been one of the most learned critics that this age has produced, was so conversant in the writings of our poets, and had acquired such an excellent and judicious ear, that he could immediately distinguish the numbers of Plautus from those of any other author. Thus Cæsar, I am told, when he made his large collection of apophthegms⁵, constantly rejected any piece of wit that was brought to him as mine, if it happened to be spurious ; a distinction which he is much more able to make at present, as his particular friends pass almost every day of their lives in my company. As our conversation generally turns upon a variety of subjects, I frequently strike out thoughts which they look upon as not altogether void, perhaps, of spirit or ingenuity. Now these little sallies of pleasantry, together with the general occurrences of Rome, are constantly transmitted to Cæsar, in pursuance of his own express directions ; so that if any thing of this kind is mentioned by others as coming from

⁵ This collection was made by Cæsar when he was very young, and probably it was a performance by no means to his honour. For Augustus, into whose hands it came, after his death, would not suffer it to be published. *Suet. in vita, Jul. 56.*

from me, he always disregards it. You see, then, that the lines you quote with so much propriety from the tragedy of Oenomaus⁶, contain a caution altogether unnecessary. For tell me, my friend, what jealousies can I possibly create? Or who will look with envy upon a man in my humble situation? But granting that I were in ever so enviable a state; yet let me observe; that it is the opinion of those philosophers, who alone seem to have understood the true nature of virtue, that a good man is answerable for nothing farther than his own innocence. Now in this respect I think myself doubly irreproachable: in the first place, by having recommended such public measures as were for the

⁶ Written by Accius, a tragic poet, who flourished about the year of Rome 617. The subject of this piece, probably, turned upon the death of Oenomaus, king of Elis, and the marriage of his daughter Hippodamia. This prince being informed, by an oracle, that he should lose his life by his future son-in-law, contrived the following expedient to disappoint the prophecy. Being possessed of a pair of horses of such wonderful swiftness, that it was reported they were begotten by the winds, he proposed to the several suitors of his daughter, that whoever of them should beat him in a chariot race should be rewarded with Hippodamia, upon condition that they consented to be put to death if they lost the match. Accordingly, thirteen of these unfortunate rivals entered the list: and each of them, in their turn, paid the forfeiture of their lives. But Pelops, the son of Tantalus, king of Phrygia, being more artful than the rest, bribed the charioteer of Oenomaus to take out the lynch pin of his chariot wheel; by which means Oenomaus was dashed to pieces in the course, and Pelops carried off the beautiful Hippodamia. *Hygin. Fab. 83.*

the interest of the commonwealth ; and in the next, that, finding I was not sufficiently supported to render my counsels effectual, I did not deem it adviseable to contend for them by arms against a superior strength. Most certainly, therefore, I cannot justly be accused of having failed in the duty of a good citizen. The only part then that now remains for me, is to be cautious not to expose myself, by any indiscreet word or action, to the resentment of those in power : a part which I hold likewise to be agreeable to the character of true wisdom. As to the rest ; what liberties any man may take in imputing words to me which I never spoke ; what credit Cæsar may give to such reports ; and how far those who court my friendship, are really sincere : these are points for which it is by no means in my power to be answerable. My tranquillity arises therefore from the conscious integrity of my counsels in the times that are past, and from the moderation of my conduct in these that are present. Accordingly, I apply the simile you quote from Accius⁷, not only to Envy, but to Fortune : that weak and inconstant power, whom every wise and resolute mind should resist with as much firmness as a rock repels the waves. Grecian story will abundantly supply examples of the greatest

⁷ The Poet mentioned in the preceding remark.

greatest men, both at Athens and Syracuse, who have, in some sort, preserved their independency, amidst the general servitude of their respective communities. May I not hope then to be able so to comport myself, under the same circumstances, as neither to give offence to our rulers, on the one hand, nor to injure the dignity of my character on the other.

But to turn from the serious to the jocose part of your letter.—The strain of pleasantry you break into, immediately after having quoted the tragedy of Oenomaus, puts me in mind of the modern method of introducing at the end of those graver dramatic pieces, the humour of our mimes, instead of the old Atellan farces*. Why else do you talk of your paltry polypus[†], and your mouldy cheese? In pure good-nature, it is true, I formerly submitted to sit down with you to such homely fare: but more refined company has improved me into a better taste. For Hirtius and Dolabella, let me tell you, are my preceptors in the science of the

* These Atellan farces, which, in the earlier periods of the Roman stage, were acted at the end of the more serious dramatic performances, derived their name from Atella, a town in Italy, from whence they were first introduced at Rome. They consisted of a more liberal and genteel kind of humour than the mimes: a species of comedy, which seems to have taken its subject from low life. *Vid. Manut. in loc.*

† A sea fish so extremely tough that it was necessary to beat it a considerable time before it could be rendered fit for the table. *Brayer. de re cibar. xxi. 14.*

the table: as, in return, they are my disciples in that of the bar. But I suppose you have already heard, at least if all the town-news is transmitted to you, that they frequently declaim at my house¹⁰, and that I as often sup at theirs. You must not, however, hope to escape my intended visit, by pleading poverty in bar to the admission of so luxurious a guest. Whilst you were raising a fortune, indeed, I bore with your parsimonious humour: but now that you are in circumstances to support the loss of half your wealth, I expect that you receive me in another manner than you would one of your compounding debtors¹¹. And though your finances may somewhat suffer by my visit, remember it is better they should be impaired by treating a friend, than by lending to a stranger. I do not insist, however, that you spread your table

¹⁰ Cicero had lately instituted a kind of academy for eloquence in his own house: at which several of the leading young men in Rome used to meet, in order to exercise themselves in the art of oratory. Cicero himself will acquaint the reader with his motives for instituting this society, in the 22d letter of the present book.

¹¹ This alludes (as Manutius observes) to a law which Cæsar passed in favour of those who had contracted debts before the commencement of the civil war. By this law, as appears from the passages which that commentator has cited, commissioners were appointed to take an account of the estate and effects of these debtors, which were to be assigned to their respective creditors according to their valuation before the civil war broke out: and whatever sums had been paid for interest, was to be considered as in discharge of the principal. By this ordinance, Pætus, it seems, had been a particular sufferer. *Cæs. Bel. Civil. iii. 1. Suet. in vit. Jul. 42.*

table with so unbounded a profusion, as to furnish out a splendid treat with the remains : I am so wonderfully moderate, as to desire nothing more than what is perfectly elegant and exquisite in its kind. I remember to have heard you describe an entertainment, which was given by Phameas. Let yours be the exact copy of his : only I should be glad not to wait for it quite so long. Should you still persist, after all, to invite me, as usual, to a penurious supper, dished out by the sparing hand of maternal œconomy ; even this, perhaps, I may be able to support. But I would fain see that hero bold who should dare to set before me the villanous trash you mention ; or even one of your boasted polypusses, with an hue as florid as vermilioned Jove¹². Take my word for it, my friend, your prudence will not suffer you to be thus adventurous. Fame, no doubt, will have proclaimed at your villa my late conversion to luxury, long before my arrival : and you will shiver at the sound of her tremendous report. Nor must you flatter yourself with the hope of abating the edge of my appetite by your cloying sweet-wines before supper : a silly custom which I have now entirely renounced ;

being

¹² Pliny, the naturalist, mentions a statue of Jupiter, erected in the Capitol, which, on certain festival days, it was customary to paint with vermilion. *Manut.*

being much wiser than when I used to damp my stomach with your antepasts of olives and Leucanian sausages.—But not to run on any longer in this jocose strain; my only serious wish is, that I may be able to make you a visit. You may compose your countenance, therefore, and return to your mouldy cheese in full security: for my being your guest will occasion you, as usual, no other expence than that of heating your baths. As for all the rest, you are to look upon it as mere pleasantry.

The trouble you have given yourself about Selicius's villa¹³, is extremely obliging: as your description of it was excessively droll. I believe, therefore, from the account you give me, I shall renounce all thoughts of making that purchase: for though the country, it seems, abounds in salt, the neighbourhood, I find, is but *insipid*. Farewel.

¹³ In Naples.

LETTER

LETTER XXI.

[A. U. 707.]

TO VOLUMNIUS¹.

YOU have little reason, believe me, to regret the not being present at my declamations²; and if you should really envy Hirtius, as you assure me you should if you did not love him, it must be much more for his own eloquence, than as he is an auditor of mine. In truth, my dear Volumnius, either I am utterly void of all genius, or incapable of exercising it to my satisfaction, now that I have lost those illustrious fellow-labourers at the bar that fired me with emulation when I used to gain your judicious applause. If ever, indeed, I displayed the powers of eloquence with advantage to my reputation, let me send a sigh when I reflect, with the fallen Philoctetes in³ the play, that

*These potent shafts, the heroes wonted dread,
Now spend on meaner war their idle force;
Aim'd at the wing'd inhabitants of air!*

However,

¹ See rem. 8, on let. 18. B. iv.² See rem. 10. on the preceding letter.

³ Philoctetes was the friend and companion of Hercules, who, when he was dying, presented him with his quiver of arrows which had been dipped in the hydra's gall. When the Grecian princes assembled in order to revenge the cause of Menelaus, they were assured by an oracle that Troy could

However, if you will give me your company here, my spirits will be more enlivened: though I need not add, that you will find me engaged in a multitude of very important occupations. But if I can once get to the end of them (as I most earnestly wish) I shall bid a long farewell both to the forum and the senate, and chiefly devote my time to you and some few others of our common friends. In this number are Cassius and Dolabella, who are united with us in the same favourite studies, and to whose performances I with great pleasure attend. But we want the assistance of your refined judgment, and of that uncommon erudition which has often struck me with awe when I have been delivering my sentiments before you. I have determined, then, if I should obtain the consent, or at least the permission of Cæsar, to retire from that stage

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could never be taken without the assistance of these arrows. An embassy, therefore, was sent to Philoctetes to engage him on their side, who accordingly consented to attend their expedition. But being disabled from proceeding with these heroes in their voyage, by an accidental wound which he received in the foot from one of his own arrows, they ungenerously left him on a desolate island; and it was here that he was reduced to the mortifying necessity of employing these formidable shafts in the humble purposes of supplying himself with food. The lines here quoted are taken from Accius, a dramatic poet who flourished about the year of Rome 623, and who, probably, had formed a tragedy upon the subject of this adventure. *Serv.* in *Æn.* iii. 402.

on which I have frequently performed a part that he himself has applauded. It is my resolution, indeed, totally to conceal myself in the secret shades of philosophy, where I hope to enjoy, with you, and some others of the same contemplative disposition, the honourable fruits of a studious leisure.

I am sorry you shortened your last letter in the apprehension that I should not have patience to read a longer. But assure yourself, for the future, that the longer yours are, the more acceptable they will always prove to me. Farewel.

LETTER XXII.

[A. U. 707.]

TO PAPIRIUS PÆTUS.

YOUR very agreeable letter found me wholly disengaged at my Tusculan villa. I retired hither during the absence of my pupils^a, whom I have sent to meet their victorious friend^b, in order to conciliate his good graces in my favour.

As Dionysius the tyrant, after he was expelled from Syracuse, opened a school, it is said, at Corinth^c; in the same manner, being driven from

^a Hirtius and Dolabella.

^b Cæsar, in his return from the African war.

^c He was expelled from Sicily about 340 years before the

from my dominions in the forum, I have erected a sort of academy in my own house: and I perceive, by your letter, that you approve the scheme. I have many reasons for approving it too, and principally as it affords me what is highly expedient in the present conjuncture, a mean of establishing an interest with those⁵ in whose friendship I may find a protection. How far my intentions in this respect may be answered, I know not: I can only say, that I have hitherto had no reason to prefer the different measures which others of the same party with myself have pursued; unless, perhaps, it would have been more eligible not to have survived the ruin of our cause. It would so, I confess, had I died either in the camp⁶, or in the field: but the former did not happen to be my fate; and, as to the latter, I never was engaged in any action. But the inglorious man-
ner

the birth of our Saviour, on account of his oppressive government; when retiring to Corinth, he employed himself in exercising the humbler tyranny of a pedagogue. It is supposed that he engaged in this office the more effectually to conceal the schemes he was still meditating, of recovering his dominions. *Justin: xxi. 5.*

⁵ Particularly Hirtius and Dolabella.

⁶ The expression in the original is extremely concise.—*In lectulo? Fateor: sed non æcidit.* This seems to allude to the sickness with which Cicero was attacked in the camp of Dyrrachium, and that prevented him from being present at the battle of Pharsalia, or at least furnished him with a plausible excuse for his absence. *Plut. in vit. Ciceron.*

ner in which Pompey⁷, together with Scipio⁸, Afranius⁹, and your friend Lentulus¹⁰, severally lost their lives, will scarcely, I suppose, be thought a more desirable lot. As to Cato's death¹¹, it must be acknowledged to have been truly noble : and I can still follow his example, when—

⁷ An account of the manner and circumstance of Pompey's death has already been given in rem. 6. p. 200. of this vol.

⁸ Scipio, after the unfortunate battle of Thapsus [see rem. 7. p. 246. of this vol.] endeavouring to make his escape into Spain, was driven back upon the coast of Africa, where he fell in with a squadron of Cæsar's fleet, commanded by Hirtius. Scipio was soon overpowered by the strength and number of the enemy's ships : and himself, together with the few vessels that attended him, were all sunk. *Hirt. de Bel. Afric.* 96.

⁹ Afranius had been one of Pompey's lieutenants in Spain, and had a command in Scipio's army in Africa. He was taken prisoner in attempting to make his escape after the defeat of that general, and murdered by the soldiers. *Hirt. de Bel. Afric.* 95.

¹⁰ This is not the same person to whom the letters in the first and second book of this collection are addressed, but Lucius Lentulus, who was consul with Marcellus *an urb.* 704, the year in which the civil war broke out. After the defeat at Pharsalia, he fled to the island of Cyprus ; where, receiving intelligence that Pompey was gone into Egypt, he immediately set sail in order to join him. He arrived on the next day after that unfortunate general had been cruelly assassinated : and being seized the moment he landed, he underwent the same fate with that of his illustrious friend, in pursuance of an order for that purpose from Ptolemy. *Plut. in vit. Pomp. Cæsar de Bel. Civil.* iii. 102. 104.

¹¹ The manner and circumstances of Cato's having destroyed himself are too well known to be particularised in this place. A late noble writer is of opinion, that Cato abandoned the cause of liberty too soon, and that he would have died with a better grace at *Munda*, than at *Utica*. This censure, it must be owned, has the appearance of being just,

whenever I shall be so disposed. Let me only endeavour, as in fact I do, not to be compelled to it by the same necessity¹²: and this is my first

just, if we consider it only in respect to the event: but if there had been a real foundation for the reproach, it can scarce be supposed that it should have escaped every one of the ancient writers who speak of this illustrious Roman's exit; and that Cicero, in particular, who most certainly did not love Cato, should have made an honourable exception of his death, out of that list which he here condemns. It is true; the republican party, after the defeat of Scipio in Africa, made a very powerful struggle against Cæsar under the command of young Pompey in Spain. But it is highly probable, that there was not the least rational expectation of this circumstance, when Cato thought it became him to put an end to his life. For it appears, from Plutarch, that he would have defended Utica to the last, if he could have persuaded the principal Romans in that garrison to have supported him: and it was not till after all his remonstrances for that purpose proved utterly ineffectual, and that he had secured the retreat of those who did not choose to surrender themselves to Cæsar, that this exemplary patriot fell upon his own sword. Thus died this truly great and virtuous Roman! He had long stood forth the sole uncorrupted opposer of those vices that proved the ruin of this degenerate commonwealth; and supported, as far as a single arm could support, the declining constitution. But when his services could no farther avail, he scorned to survive what had been the labour of his whole life to preserve, and bravely perished with the liberties of his country. This is the purport of that noble eulogy which Seneca, in much stronger language, has justly bestowed upon Cato: *Adversus vitia degenerantis civitatis*, says he, *stetit, solus, & cadentem rempublicam, quantum, modo una retrahi manu poterat, retinuit; donec comitem se diu sustentatæ ruinæ dedit: simulque extincta sunt quæ nefas erat dividi. Neque enim Cato post libertatem vixit, nec libertas post Catonem.* Lord Bolinbroke's Letter on Patriotism, p. 36. Plut. in vit. Caton. Senec. de constant. Sapient. 2.

¹² The only necessity which Cato was under of putting an end to his life, arose from that uniform opposition he had given

first reason for engaging in my present scheme. My next is, that I find it an advantage, not only to my health¹³, which began to be impaired by the intermission of exercises of this kind, but also to my oratorical talents, if any I ever possessed: which would have totally lost their vigour, if I had not had recourse to this method of keeping them in play. The last benefit I shall mention (and the principal one, I dare say, in your estimation) is, that it has introduced me to the demolishing of a greater number of delicious peacocks¹⁴, than you have had the devouring

given to the dangerous designs of the conqueror: and it must be allowed, that Cicero took sufficient care not to fall under the same.

¹³ A mere English reader will be surprised to hear Cicero talk of eloquence as an *exercise*. There is nothing, indeed, more indolent and immoveable than a British orator: or if he ventures into action, his gestures are generally such as would render the finest speech that Demosthenes or Cicero ever delivered, absolutely powerless or ridiculous. "You may see many a smart rhetorician (says the inimitable Mr. Addison) turning his hat in his hands, moulding it into several different cocks, examining sometimes the lining and sometimes the button, during the whole course of his harangue. A deaf man would think he was cheapening a beaver: when, perhaps, he is talking of the fate of the British nation." But among the orators of Greece and Rome it was far otherwise. They studied the eloquence of action as much as that of diction: and their rhetoricians have laid down rules for the graceful management of the shoulders, the arms, the hands, and the feet, which were each of them engaged by turns in the emphatical *exercise* of ancient elocution. *Spectil.* vi. p. 50. *Quinctil.* xi. 3.

¹⁴ This bird was esteemed by the Romans amongst the most refined delicacies of the table, and no entertainment was

vouring of paltry pigeons in all your life. The truth of it is, whilst you are humbly sipping the meagre broths of the sneaking Aterius, I am luxuriously regaling myself with the savoury soups of the magnificent Hirtius. If you have any spirit, then, fly hither, and learn, from our elegant bills of fare, how to refine your own: though, to do your talents justice, this is a sort of knowledge in which you are much superior to our instructions. However, since you can get no purchasers for your mortgages, and are not likely to fill those pitchers you mention with denarii¹⁵, it will be your wisest scheme to return hither: for it is a better thing, let me tell you, to be sick with good eating at Rome, than for want of victuals at Naples¹⁶. In short, I plainly perceive that your finances are in no flourishing situation, and I expect to hear the same account of all your neighbours: so that famine, my friend, most formidable

was thought completely elegant where a peacock did not make one of the dishes. They bore a most incredible price: Varro assures us, that an hundred peacocks produced to the owner, the annual profit of about three hundred pounds sterling. *Var. de re Rustic.* iii. 6.

¹⁵ The denarius was a silver coin, equivalent to about eight pence of our money. Cicero's raillery alludes to the loss which Pætus had suffered by the late edict of Cæsar concerning debtors: of which an account has been given in rem. 11. p. 260. of this vol.

¹⁶ Pætus had a house in Naples: where he appears to have been when this letter was written.

formidable famine must be your fate, if you do not provide against it in due time. And since you have been reduced to sell your horse, e'en mount your mule (the only animal, it seems, belonging to you which you have not yet sacrificed to your table) and convey yourself immediately to Rome. To encourage you to do so, you shall be honoured with a chair and cushion next to mine; and sit the second great pedagogue in my celebrated school. Farewel.

LETTER XXIII.

[A. U. 707.]

To the same.

YOUR satirical humour, I find, has not yet forsaken you: and I perfectly well understand your raillery, when you gravely tell me, that Balbus contented himself with your humble fare. You insinuate, I suppose, that since these our sovereign¹ rulers are thus wonderfully temperate, much more does it become a discarded consular² to practise the same abstemiousness. But do you know, my friend, that I have artfully drawn from Balbus himself, the whole history

¹ Balbus was a sort of prime minister and chief confident of Cæsar.

² The consulars were those who had passed through the office of consul.

tory of the reception you gave him? He came directly to my house the moment he arrived in Rome: a circumstance, by the way, somewhat extraordinary. Not that I am surprised at his wanting the politeness to call first at yours; but my wonder is, that he should not go directly to his own³. However, after the two or three first salutations had passed, I immediately enquired what account he had to give of my friend Pætus? "Never, he protested, was he better entertained in his whole life." Now, if you merited this compliment by your wit, I desire you to remember, that I shall bring as elegant a taste with me as Balbus himself: but if he alluded to the honours of your table, let it never be said, that the family of the stammerers⁴ were more splendidly regaled by Pætus, than the sons of elocution.

Business has prevented me, from time to time, in my design of paying you a visit: but if I can
dispatch

³ There is undoubtedly some raillery in this passage, either upon Pætus or Balbus: but it is impossible to discover of what nature, as it alludes to circumstances utterly unknown.

⁴ In the original it is, *ne pluris esse Balbos, quam disertos putes*: a witticism which could not, possibly, be preserved in the translation. For it turns upon the equivocal sense of the word *Balbus*: which was not only the name of the person of whom Cicero is speaking, but signifies, likewise, a man who labours under that defect of speech called stuttering.

dispatch my affairs so as to be able to come into your part of the word; I shall take care that you shall have no reason to complain of my not having given you timely notice. Farewel.

LETTER XXIV.

[A. U. 707.]

To the same.

ARE you not a pleasant mortal to question me concerning the fate of those estates⁵ you mention, when Balbus had just before been paying you a visit? It is from him, indeed, that I derive my whole fund of intelligence; and you may be assured, that where he is ignorant, I have no chance of being better informed. I might, with much more propriety, desire you would tell me what is likely to be the fate of my own possessions, since you have so lately had a person⁶ under your roof, from whom, either in or out of his cups, you might certainly have discovered that secret. But this, my dear Pætus, is an article that makes no
part

⁵ Probably the estates of the Pompeians that lay about Naples, where Pætus seems to have been when this letter was written. It appears that Pætus had been alarmed with a rumour that Cæsar intended to seize these estates; and, therefore, had applied to Cicero to learn the truth of this report.

⁶ Balbus.

part of my inquiry; for, in the first place, I have reason to be well satisfied, having now almost these four years⁷ been indulged with my life; if life or indulgence it may be called, to be the sad survivor of our country's ruin. In the next place, I believe it is a question I may easily answer myself. For I know it will be just as it shall seem meet to the men in power; and the men in power, my friend, will ever be those whose swords are the most prevailing. I must rest contented, therefore, with whatever grace it shall be their pleasure to shew me; for he who could not tamely submit to such wretched terms, ought to have taken refuge in the arms of death. Notwithstanding, therefore, that the estates about Veii and Capenas, are actually dividing out, (and these, you know, are not far distant from Tusculum⁸) yet it gives me no sort of disquietude.

⁷ One of the commentators, who conceals his true name under that of Bagazonius, collects from this passage, that the present letter was written A. U. 707. whereas it seems to prove, on the contrary, that its date cannot be placed earlier than the year 709. For Cicero appears, evidently, to allude to the pardon he had received from Cæsar. Now this could not have been till after the battle of Pharsalia, A. U. 705; and the fourth year from that period brings us down to 709. In the beginning, therefore, of that year, this letter ought to have been placed; but the error of its present situation was not discovered till it was too late to be rectified.

⁸ Veii and Capena were cities in that part of Italy called Etruria, which is now comprehended under the name of Tuscany.

⁹ Where Cicero had a villa.

disquietude. I enjoy my property whilst I may, and please myself with the hope that I shall never be deprived of that privilege. But should it happen otherwise, still, however, since it was my noble maxim (hero and philosopher as I was !) that life is the fairest of all possessions, I cannot, undoubtedly, but love the man" by whose bounty I have obtained the continuance of that enjoyment. It is certain, at the same time, that how much soever he may be disposed, perhaps, to restore the republic, (as we ought all of us most certainly to wish) yet he has entangled himself in such a variety of different connexions, that he is utterly embarrassed in what manner to act. But this is going farther into these points than is necessary, considering the person to whom I am writing. Nevertheless, I will add, that our chief himself is as absolutely ignorant what measures will finally be resolved upon, as I am, who have no share in his councils. For Cæsar is no less under the control of circumstances, than we are under the control of Cæsar ; and it is as much impossible for him to foresee what these may require, as it is for us to penetrate into what he may intend.

You must not impute it to neglect, (a fault, you are sensible, of which I am seldom guilty in the

" Cæsar.

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the article of writing) that I have not said thus much to you before. The single reason for my not sooner answering your inquiry, was, that as I could only speak from conjecture, I was unwilling, without a just foundation, either to increase your fears, or to encourage your hopes. But this I can with truth assure you, that I have not heard the least hint of the danger you apprehend. A man of your philosophy, however, ought to hope for the best, to be prepared for the worst, and to bear, with equanimity, whatever may happen. Farewel.

LETTER XXV.

[A. U. 707.]

To the same.

YOUR letter gave me a double pleasure; for it not only diverted me extremely, but was a proof, likewise, that you are so well recovered as to be able to indulge your usual gaiety. I was well contented, at the same time, to find myself the subject of your raillery; and, in truth, the repeated provocations I had given you were sufficient to call forth all the severity of your satire. My only regret is, that I am prevented from taking my intended journey into your part of the world, where I purposed to have made myself, I do not say your guest, but

but one of your family. You would have found me wonderfully changed from the man I formerly was, when you used to cram me with your cloying antepasts¹. For I now more prudently sit down to table with an appetite altogether unimpaired, and most heroically make my way through every dish that comes before me, from the egg² that leads the van, to the roast veal that brings up the rear³. The temperate and unexpensive guest whom you were wont to applaud, is now no more. I have bidden a total farewell to all the cares of the patriot, and have joined the professed enemies of my former principles; in short, I am become an absolute Epicurean. You are by no means, however, to consider me as a friend to that injudicious profusion,

¹ These antepasts seem to have been a kind of collation preparatory to the principal entertainment. They generally consisted, it is probable, of such dishes as were provocatives to appetite; but prudent economists, as may be collected from the turn of Cicero's raillery, sometimes contrived them in such a manner as to damp rather than improve the stomach of their guests.

² The first dish at every Roman table, was constantly eggs; which maintained their post of honour even at the most magnificent entertainments:

—Nec dum omnis abacta

Pauperis epulis regum: nam vilibus ovis

—est—hodie locus.

HOR. Sat. ii. 2.

The humble egg at lordly feasts we see:

This still remains of old simplicity!

³ It appears, by a passage which Manutius cites from Ter-tullian, that the Romans usually concluded their feasts with broiled or roasted meat.

fusion, which is now the prevailing taste of our modern entertainments; on the contrary, it is that more elegant luxury I admire which you formerly used to display when your finances were most flourishing⁵, though your farms were not more numerous than at present. Be prepared, therefore, for my reception, accordingly, and remember you are to entertain a man who has not only a most enormous appetite, but who has some little knowledge, let me tell you, in the science of elegant eating. You know there is a peculiar air of self-sufficiency, that generally distinguishes those who enter late into the study of any art. You will not wonder, therefore, when I take upon me to inform you, that you must banish your cakes and your sweetmeats, as articles that are now utterly discarded from all fashionable bills of fare. I am become, indeed, such a proficient in this science, that I frequently venture to invite to my table those refined friends of yours, the delicate Verrius and Camillus. Nay, I am bolder still, and have presumed to give a supper even to Hirtius himself; though, I must own, I could not advance so far as to honour him with a peacock⁶. To tell you the truth, my honest cook had not skill enough to imitate any other part of his splendid

⁵ See rem. 11. p. 260. of this vol.

⁶ See rem. 14. p. 270. of this vol.

splendid entertainments, except only his smocking soups.

But to give you a general sketch of my manner of life; I spend the first part of the morning in receiving the compliments of several both of our dejected patriots and our gay victors; the latter of whom treat me with great marks of civility and esteem. As soon as that ceremony is over, I retire to my library, where I employ myself either with my books or my pen. And here I am sometimes surrounded by an audience, who look upon me as a man of most profound erudition, for no other reason, perhaps, than because I am not altogether so ignorant as themselves. The rest of my time I wholly devote to indulgencies of a less intellectual kind. I have sufficiently, indeed, paid the tribute of sorrow to my unhappy country: the miseries whereof I have longer and more bitterly lamented, than ever tender mother bewailed the loss of her only son.

Let me desire you, as you would secure your magazine of provisions from falling into my hands, to take care of your health; for I have most unmercifully resolved that no pretence of indisposition shall preserve your larder from my depredations. Farewel.

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LETTER

LETTER XXVI.

[A. U. 707.]

To the same,

I ARRIVED yesterday at Cumæ⁷, and perhaps I may pay you a visit to-morrow ; but I shall take care to give you a short notice beforehand. I am determined, indeed, not only to see you, but to sup with you too. For though I had the mortification to be informed by Marcus Ceparius, whom I met on the road, that you were laid up with the gout ; yet I suppose your cook is not disabled as well as his master. You may expect, therefore, very speedily to receive a guest, who, as he is remarkable for having a wonderful puny stomach, is equally famous likewise for being an irreconcilable enemy to all sumptuous entertainments.— Farewel.

LETTER XXVII.

[A. U. 707.]

TO MARCUS MARIUS.

I ARRIVED at Cumæ on the 24th, accompanied by our friend Libo, and purpose to be at my Pompeian villa⁸ very shortly : but I will
give

⁷ Where he had a country house.⁸ See rem. 3. p. 198. of this vol.

give you previous notice when I shall have fixed the day. I wish you the enjoyment of your health at all times; but particularly whilst I am your neighbour. If you have an assignation, therefore, with your old companion, the gout, pray contrive to put it off to some other opportunity. In good earnest, let me desire you to take care of your health, and expect to see me in two or three days. Farewel.

LETTERS

LETTERS
OF
MARCUS TULLIUS CICERO
TO
SEVERAL OF HIS FRIENDS.

BOOK IX.

LETTER I.

[A. U. 707.]

TO SERVIVS SVPICIUS*.

I AM continually receiving accounts from various hands, that you are in a more than common degree affected by the general calamities of our country. This is by no means a matter of surprise to me, as it in some measure corresponds

* Some account has already been given of Sulpicius, in rem. 1. p. 119. of this vol. Upon the breaking out of the civil

sponds with what passes in my own bosom. Nevertheless, I cannot but regret that a man of your superior understanding should not rather enjoy his own good fortune, than vainly disquiet himself with the misery of others. As for myself, there is none who has more bitterly lamented the general desolation of the commonwealth: yet there are many reflections from which I now derive great relief; particularly from a consciousness of the integrity of my former counsels. I long foresaw, as from some advantageous eminence, the storm that was gathering around us; and I foresaw it, not only by the force of my own discernment, but much clearer by the assistance of your prophetic admonitions. For though I was absent during the greater part of your consulate², yet I was not unapprised how often you foretold this fatal war, and what measures you recommended for its prevention. In the commencement, indeed, of your consular administration,

civil war he was a considerable time in suspense on which side to declare himself: [See rem. 1. p. 138. of this vol.] but at length he determined to join Pompey. However, soon after the battle of Pharsalia, he made his peace with Cæsar, and was appointed by him governor of Greece. It was during his administration of this province, that the present letter, together with the rest of those which are addressed to him in this and the following book, were written.

² Sulpicius was consul in the year 702; and it was about the latter end of April, or the beginning of May, in the same year, that Cicero left Rome, in order to proceed to his government in Cilicia. *Ad Att.* v. 2.

tration, I was myself present in the senate when you prudently endeavoured to awaken our fears, by enumerating those civil wars that had happened within our own memories³. And if the authors of these, you told the house, unsupported by a single example of the same kind to give a colour to their conduct, had exercised such dreadful cruelties⁴, whoever in future times should successfully turn his arms against the republic, would most assuredly prove a much more intolerable tyrant. For they that act by precedent, you observed, generally think they act by right, and in cases of this nature seldom fail of improving upon their model. You should remember, therefore, that those who refused to follow your judicious advice, owe their destruction entirely to their own imprudence. But you will ask, perhaps, "what relief can this consideration afford to your mind, amidst the universal wreck of the republic?" It must be acknowledged, indeed, that our misfortunes will scarce admit of

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³ About two-and-twenty years before the date of this letter, the dissensions between Marius and Sylla broke out into an open civil war, which terminated in the perpetual dictatorship of the latter.

⁴ Both Marius and Sylla perpetrated, in their turns, the most horrid outrages against the partisans of each other; but particularly Sylla, whose sanguinary proscriptions, during his usurpation, afford the most dreadful instances, perhaps, of human cruelty, that are to be met with in the whole annals of despotic power. *Vid. Sallust. Bel. Catil. 51.*

consolation : so total and so irrecoverable is the ruin we deplore ! However, Cæsar himself, as well as every citizen of Rome besides, looks upon you as shining forth, amidst this general extinction of the great lights of the republic, in all the lustre and dignity of wisdom and virtue. These considerations, therefore, ought greatly to alleviate the generous disquietude of your heart. 'Tis true you are absent from your friends and family ; but this you have the less reason to regret, as you are removed at the same time from many very disagreeable circumstances. I would particularly point them out to you, but that I am unwilling you should have the pain of hearing what you are so happy as not to see : an advantage which renders your situation, I think, so much the more eligible than ours.

I have thus far laid before you, in the warmest friendship of my heart, those reasons which may justly contribute to lighten and compose your uneasiness. The rest are to be found within yourself ; and they are consolations which I know, by daily experience, to be of the best and most efficacious kind. I well remember that you passionately cultivated the whole circle of sciences from your earliest youth, and carefully treasured up in your mind whatever the wisest philosophers have delivered concerning

concerning the best and happiest regulation of human life. Now these are contemplations both useful and entertaining, even in seasons of the greatest calm and prosperity; but in the present calamitous situation of public affairs, there is nothing else that can sooth and compose our minds. I would not be so arrogant as to take upon myself to exhort a man of your sense and knowledge to have recourse to those studies to which I know you have your whole life been devoted. I will only say with respect to myself, (and I hope I shall be justified by your approbation) that I consecrated all my time and attention to philosophy, when I perceived there was no farther employment either in the forum or the senate for my favourite art*. Scarcely more room is there for the exercise of that excellent science, in which you, my friend, are so eminently distinguished*. I am persuaded,

* *Oratory.*

* Sulpicius distinguished himself by his superior skill in the laws of his country; to the knowledge and practice of which science he principally devoted the studies and the labours of his life. He was the first, indeed, among the Romans who seems to have traced and explained the principles of civil law; and to have reduced that branch of knowledge from the vague and confused manner in which it had been formerly treated, into a regular and rational system. The number of treatises which he is said to have composed, amount to above an hundred and fifty; but nothing of his hand remains, except two very elegant and interesting letters, addressed to Cicero, in the eleventh book of the present collection. See p. 6. and 28. of vol. iii. *Cicer. de Clar. Orat.* 152. *Pompon. de Orig. Juris.*

suaded, therefore, that I have no occasion to admonish you to apply your thoughts to the same philosophical contemplations ; which, if they were attended with no other advantage, would have this, at least, to recommend them, that they divert the mind from dwelling on its anxieties.

Your son applies himself to all the polite arts in general with great success : but he particularly excels in those philosophical studies from whence I just now professed to derive the principal consolation of my life. I know not any man, except yourself, for whom I have conceived a stronger affection : and, indeed, he very amply returns the warmth of my friendship : but he evidently shews, at the same time, that, in distinguishing me with the marks of his respect and esteem, he imagines that he is acting in the most agreeable manner to your inclinations. Farewel.

LETTER

LETTER II.

[A. U. 707.]

TO PUBLIUS SERVILIUS ISAURICUS⁷,
Proconsul.

I RECEIVED the account you sent me of your voyage, with much pleasure, as it was a proof that you are not unmindful of our friendship; than which nothing, be assured, can afford me a more real satisfaction. Would you still oblige me more! let it be by freely communicating to me the state of your province, and the plan of government upon which you proceed. For, though the fame of your administration will undoubtedly reach me by many other ways, yet I shall be most pleased in being made acquainted with it by your own hand. As for myself, the hazards to which my letters are exposed, will not suffer me to be so frequent in giving you my sentiments of public affairs, as I shall be in apprizing you of what passes amongst us. I have hopes, however, that our colleague

⁷ Cæsar nominated him joint consul with himself, in the year 705; and Servilius exercised the consular functions at Rome, whilst his colleague was employed in carrying on the war against Pompey in Macedonia. He was, at this time, proconsul of Asia Minor; to which province he succeeded at the expiration of his consulate. *Cæs. Bel. Civil.* iii. 1.

colleague Cæsar^a intends, and, indeed, that he actually has it under his consideration, to establish a republican form of government of some kind; and it is of much importance, that you should be present in his council for this purpose. But if it be more for your own glory to preside over Asia, and preserve that ill-affected part of the republic in its allegiance, I ought to regulate my inclinations by yours, and prefer what will most contribute to the advancement of your interest and your honour. Be assured, I shall employ my utmost zeal to promote both, by every mean that shall appear conducive to that end; among which, it shall be my principal care to distinguish your illustrious father^b with all possible marks of my observance.

^a Cæsar was a fellow member of the college of augurs with Cicero and Servilius.

^b Servilius the father, after having passed through the office of consul in the year 673, was elected governor of Cilicia, where he greatly distinguished himself in several obstinate and successful engagements with the piratic nations, that infested the Roman commerce in this part of the eastern world. He particularly turned his arms against the Isauri; a people situated between Cilicia and Lycaonia; and having penetrated as far as their capital, he not only laid it level with the ground, but demolished several strong forts which the pirates possessed in the maritime parts of that kingdom. It was upon this occasion, that he obtained the title of *Isauricus*; and, at his return to Rome, he was honoured, likewise, with a triumph. He died not long after this letter was written, in an extreme old age, and is said to have preserved his health and senses entire to his last moments. *Liv. Epit.* 93. *Flor.* iii. 6. *Dio.* xlv. p. 277.

observance. This, indeed, is what I justly owe him, not only in regard to his high character, and the friendship in which we have been long united, but in return, likewise, to the many favours which you and he have conferred upon me. Farewel,

LETTER III.

[A. U. 707.]

TO NIGIDIUS FIGULUS¹.

THOUGH I have long been looking out for an occasion of writing to you, yet I have not only been unable to meet with any particular subject.

¹ Nigidius Figulus was a person of great distinction, not only in the civil, but literary world. He had passed through the offices of tribune and prætor, with much honour; and was at this time in the number of those who were suffering exile for having taken up arms on the side of Pompey. He was extremely well versed in all the liberal sciences, but his studies were principally consecrated to moral and natural knowledge; in the latter of which he seems to have made such extraordinary discoveries, as to have occasioned a suspicion that he practised the magic art. He was much addicted to judicial astrology; and, it is said, that being informed of the birth of Octavius, he immediately pronounced that he was destined to empire. Lucan has celebrated him for his learning of this kind, and represents him as prophetically declaring the future calamities of his country.

*At Figulus, cui cura Deos secretaque cælî
Nosse fuit, &c.*

One of the commentators asserts, (though it does not appear upon

ject for that purpose, but find myself utterly at a loss even to furnish out a common letter. The calamities of our country have spoiled me for those jocose epistles with which, in happier days, I used to entertain my friends; as fortune has rendered me incapable of writing, or, in truth, of thinking, upon any subject of a cheerful nature. There remains another species of letters of a grave and serious cast, peculiarly adapted to these miserable times. But, as a letter of this kind ought to contain either some promise of assisting you to surmount your misfortunes, or some arguments to support you under them; from these, too, I am likewise excluded. Sunk, indeed, as I am, into the same abject fortune as yourself, what assistance can I possibly offer you? In sad truth, I am obliged to have recourse myself to the aid of others, and I have much more reason to lament that I live upon these disgraceful terms, than to rejoice that I am still in being. I say not this from any extraordinary injuries which I have suffered in my own person; indeed, there is nothing which in the present conjuncture I could wish for myself, that Cæsar has not voluntarily

upon what authority) that Figulus died in exile, the year following the date of this letter. *Ad Q. F.* 1. 2. *Cic. Fragm. de Univer. in Princip.* *Dio.* xlv. p. 270. *Suet. in Aug.* 94. *Lucan.* i. 693.

voluntarily offered me. Nevertheless, the sorrows that oppress my heart, are of so severe a nature, that I think myself guilty of a crime in still continuing to live. For I live deprived of many of my most intimate friends, whom death, or those public calamities which have driven them from their country, have separated from me; as I have, likewise, lost, by the same means, all those whose good-will I formerly conciliated, when, by your assistance*, I successfully stood forth in defence of the republic. I have the unhappiness, at the same time, to be placed in the midst of the general wreck and plunder of their fortunes; and not only have the pain to hear, (but what is far more affecting) am a spectator of the dissipation of the estates which belonged to those illustrious associates, who assisted me in extinguishing the flames of that dangerous conspiracy. In a word, I have the mortification to find myself utterly divested of all credit, authority, and honours in that republic, where I once flourished in the full possession of those glorious distinctions. Cæsar, 'tis true, acts towards me with the utmost

* This alludes to the affair of Catiline's conspiracy; in which, as in every other article of public concern, Cicero was principally determined in his conduct by the sentiments and advice of Nigidius. *Plut. in vit. Cicer.*

most generosity ; but his generosity cannot restore what I have lost by the general violence and confusion of the times. Thus bereaved of those advantages to which I was habituated by genius, by inclination, and by custom, I imagine that the world is no less dissatisfied with me, than I am with myself. Formed, indeed, as I was by nature, to be perpetually engaged in the noblest and most important occupations, I am now deprived of every mean, not only of acting, but of thinking to any public purpose. There was a time when my assistance could have raised the obscure, and protected even the guilty ; but now I cannot so much as send a favourable promise to Nigidius ; to the virtuous, the learned Nigidius ; to the man who once flourished in the highest credit, and who was always my warmest friend ! Thus you see that I am totally disqualified from writing letters to you of this kind.

The only subject that remains to me, then, is to endeavour to draw off your mind from its inquietudes, by laying before you such arguments as may afford you a well-grounded consolation. But, if ever any man was peculiarly qualified to employ the strongest reasonings of this nature, either for his own use, or for that of others, most undoubtedly it is yourself.

Such,

Such, therefore, as may be drawn from the refined sources of philosophy, I will not pretend to touch; but shall leave them entirely to your own suggestions. Whatever is worthy of a man of true wisdom and fortitude; whatever is agreeable to that character you have sustained in the world, and to those studies in which you so early excelled; whatever, in short, is expected from a great and exalted mind in the circumstances wherein you are placed, your own reflections will best supply. I will only take upon myself, therefore, to inform you of what I have been able to discover from my being situated in Rome, and giving a particular attention to every occurrence that passes. I will venture, then, with confidence, to assure you, that your present troubles (perhaps, too, I might add, that those of the republic itself) will not be of long continuance. For, in the first place, Cæsar seems well inclined to recal you from exile; and, trust me, I speak this from no hasty conjecture. On the contrary, I examine his sentiments and dispositions so much the more strictly, as I am less biassed in his favour by any particular connexions. I am persuaded, then, that the single reason for his delaying to restore you, is, that he may with a better grace refuse the same

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favour

favour to others against whom he is more warmly incensed. I am sure, at least, that all his most intimate friends and favourites both think and speak of you highly to your advantage.

In the next place, the populace, or rather, I should say, the whole community in general, are strongly in your interest. And let me add, that the republic herself, whose power at present, it must be confessed, is certainly considerable, but who must necessarily, however, recover some degree of credit; the republic herself, believe me, will soon obtain your restoration from those who at this time hold her in subjection. In this respect, therefore, I may venture even to promise you some assistance. With this view, I shall closely attach myself to Cæsar's favourites, who are all of them, indeed, extremely fond of me, and spend much of their time in my company; as I shall insinuate myself into an intimacy with Cæsar, to which my own modesty has hitherto proved the single obstruction¹. In short, I shall pursue every probable mean of this kind (and some, too, that I dare not
commit

¹ It requires, perhaps, no ordinary portion of faith, to believe it was *modesty* that kept Cicero at a distance from Cæsar. The true reason, indeed, appears from Cicero's own account in the last paragraph of the following letter, where he touches upon this article in a more ingenuous manner, than he thought proper in the present instance. See the 17th and 22d letters of this book.

commit to paper) in order to obtain your return. As to other articles of assistance, I am sensible there are many who are perfectly well inclined to offer you their services; but you may depend upon me as the first and forwardest in that number. The sincere truth is, there is no part of my estate which is not as freely at your disposal as it is at mine. But I will say the less upon this subject, as I would rather encourage you to hope (what I am well persuaded will be the case) that you will soon have it in your power to make use of your own. In the mean while, let me conjure you to preserve a firm and unbroken spirit, remembering not only the sublime precepts you have received from other celebrated philosophers, but those likewise which have been the produce of your own judicious reflections. If you attend to these, they will teach you to hope the best, and at the same time to meet whatever may happen with a wise composure of mind⁴. But these are sentiments which

no

* Nigidius published many treatises on different branches of human and theological science, the subjects of which Manutius, with his usual learning and industry, has collected from the several ancient writers wherein they are cited. It is probable, from the present passage, that he had published also some treatise concerning fortitude, upon the Pythagoric principles. It is certain, at least, that Nigidius (and it is a circumstance greatly to the honour of his character) attempted to bring the philosophy of Pythagoras into credit with

no man is so capable to suggest to you as yourself. I will only add, then, that you may be assured of my carefully and zealously embracing every opportunity of promoting your welfare ; as I shall always retain a grateful remembrance of the generous services you conferred upon me during my severe afflictions⁵. Farewel.

LETTER IV.

[A. U. 707.]

TO MARCUS MARCELLUS⁶.

I WILL not venture to condemn, though I have not myself pursued those measures in which I find you still persevere⁷, as I have too high

with his countrymen ; which, after having flourished in Italy during some centuries, was now grown almost entirely out of repute. It is no wonder, indeed, that a system which, in many of its precepts, seems to have approached very near to the divine morality of the Christian institution, was rejected in an age in which the only fashionable principles were, to acquire wealth by every means of avarice and injustice, and to dissipate it by every method of luxury and profusion. *Cic. Fragm. de Univ. in Princip.*

⁵ This alludes to Cicero's banishment, in the year 694, at which time Nigidius was prætor. *Pigh. Annal.* ii. 361.

⁶ For a particular account of the character and conduct of Marcellus, see rem. 3. let. 31. of book iii.

⁷ This alludes to the different conduct of Cicero and Marcellus, after the battle of Pharsalia ; the former (as has already been remarked) having immediately returned into Italy, in order to throw himself at the feet of the conqueror, the latter retiring to Mitylene, the capital of Lesbos. In this city Marcellus probably resided, when the present letter was written.

high an opinion of *your* judgment, to think the preference is due to my own. The friendship, however, in which we have so long been intimately united, together with those singular marks of affection you have shewn towards me, from your earliest youth, induce me to recommend to you what seems conducive to your interest, at the same time that it appears by no means inconsistent with your honour.

I am sensible that you long foresaw, no less than myself, those calamities that have fallen upon our country: and I well remember the patriot conduct you displayed during your glorious administration of the consular office. But I remember, too, that you disapproved of the manner in which the civil war was conducted; and that, far from being satisfied either with the strength or nature of Pompey's forces, you were always extremely diffident of their success; in which, I need not add, I entirely agreed with you. In conformity to these our mutual sentiments, as you did not enter very far into the war on your part, so I always endeavoured as much as possible to avoid it on mine. The point in contest between the adverse parties was not to be decided indeed by the force of their counsels, and the justice of their cause, in which we had undoubtedly the advantage, but by the single strength

strength of their swords, wherein we were evidently inferior. Vanquished, therefore, we accordingly are: or, if virtue never can be vanquished, yet certainly, at least, we are fallen. Your conduct cannot but be greatly and universally applauded, in having renounced the spirit of contention, when you lost the hopes of success; and you shewed, by your own example, that as a wise and honest patriot will always enter into a civil war with reluctance, so he will never choose to carry it on to its last desperate extremity. Those who did not pursue the same measures formed themselves into two different parties; and while some retreated into Africa, in order to renew the war, others, and myself among the rest, submitted to the conqueror. But you thought proper to steer a middle course, imagining, perhaps, that it was mean to yield, and obstinacy to resist. In this, I must confess, you are thought by many (I might say by the world in general) to have given a proof of your virtue; while there are numbers who admire it likewise as an instance of great magnanimity⁹. Nevertheless there is
a time,

⁹ It is probable that Brutus was in the number of those who were in Cicero's thoughts upon this occasion, as may be collected from a passage in Seneca. This noble moralist relates, that Brutus, in a treatise which he wrote concerning virtue, mentioned his having paid a visit to Marcellus at

a time, it should seem, when this measure may cease to be any longer justifiable; especially as nothing, I am persuaded, is wanting to establish you in the full possession of your fortunes, but your own concurrence. For he in whom all power is centred^a has no other objection, I find, to granting you this favour, but that he is apprehensive you are by no means disposed to think it one. What my own sentiments are as to that point, is too evident by my conduct, to render it necessary to explain them. But this, however, I will say, that although you should prefer a state of perpetual exile, rather than be a spectator of what you cannot but disapprove, yet you should reflect, that it is impossible, in any part of the world, to be placed out of the reach of his power whom you desire to avoid. And even granting

at Mitylene, where he found him in the utmost tranquillity, pursuing, with all his usual taste and spirit, the moral and polite arts. "And I could not forbear thinking," added Brutus, "when I took my leave of Marcellus, in order to return to Rome, that it was I myself, and not my friend, who deserved to be lamented as the exile." Seneca takes occasion from hence to introduce a soliloquy, which he puts into the mouth of this illustrious exile; and he concludes it with a sentiment that raises the highest idea both of Brutus and Marcellus. "Let conquered nations (he supposes Marcellus to have said to himself) look with wonder upon Cæsar; but live thou, BRUTO MIRATORE CONTENTUS, satisfied with having gained the admiration of Brutus!" *Senec. Consul. ad Helvid. 9.*

^a Cæsar.

ing it probable that he should suffer you to live free and unmolested in a voluntary banishment, yet it deserves your consideration, whether it would not be more eligible, whatever the situation of public affairs may be, to spend your days in Rome, than at Rhodes or Mitylene. But, since that power which we dread extends itself over every part of the globe, is it not better to live securely under your own roof, than in perpetual danger under that of another? For myself, at least, if even death were my resolution, yet I would rather choose to expire in my own country, and in my own mansion, than at a stranger's house, and in a foreign land.

All who love you (and your illustrious virtues have rendered that party extremely numerous) join with me in these sentiments. In this we have a regard, likewise, to the preservation of your estate, which we should be sorry to see dissipated. For though neither that person who governs the republic, nor, indeed, the republic itself, would suffer any injuries of this kind to remain always unredressed, yet I would not, in the mean time, have your estate exposed to the depredations of certain lawless invaders, whom I should not scruple to name, if I were not persuaded that you perfectly well know to whom I allude.

Your

Your very excellent relation, Caius Marcellus¹, discovers a singular zeal in his frequent and earnest applications to Cæsar on your behalf. And though I am not in a situation to second these his solicitations, I claim, however, the next rank, in my anxiety for your welfare. The truth is, I have stood too much in need of an advocate myself, to take the liberty of acting that part for another; as all the merit I can plead, is to have yielded after having been conquered². Nevertheless, as far as my advice and endeavours can be of any avail in your affairs, they are not wanting to Caius. The rest of your family do not think proper to consult me, though they may always be assured of finding me ready to exert my best services wherever your interest is concerned. Farewel.

LETTER

¹ An account has been given of him in rem. 4. p. 322. vol. 1.

² See rem. 3. on the preceding letter.

LETTER V.

[A. U. 707.]

TO TREBIANUS³.

I SHOULD have written to you sooner, if it had been either in my power to have promised you any effectual assistance, or necessary to have offered you any consolation; one or the other being the part of every friend, in so unhappy a conjuncture as the present. But I forbore the latter, as I was informed by many hands, of the resolute and philosophical spirit with which you support the unjust persecution you are suffering from the violence of the times, and of the strong consolation you receive from the consciousness of that integrity by which all your counsels and actions towards the public were directed. If this account be true, (and let me earnestly exhort you to verify it) you reap the happy fruits of those noble contemplations, in which, I well know, you have ever been conversant. I will venture at the same time to assure you, (how unnecessary soever that assurance

³ The person to whom this letter is inscribed is mentioned by no other ancient writer; so that nothing more is known of him than what may be collected from this and two more epistles addressed to him in the present book. It appears he was at this time in exile, as having taken part against Cæsar in the civil war; and that he was soon afterwards restored to his country by the good offices of Dolabella.

assurance may be to a man so perfectly well acquainted with the present age, and so thoroughly versed in the annals of all the past) that the cruel injuries under which you are oppressed cannot possibly continue long. And this conjecture you may safely take from one, who, if he is less a politician in theory, perhaps, than he wishes, is certainly much more so by experience than he desires. Cæsar, indeed, seems to be every day more and more inclined to adopt those equitable measures, which our public circumstances require. The cause, likewise, for which you suffer, is of such a nature, that it must necessarily revive and flourish with the republic: which most undoubtedly cannot always remain in its present state of subjection. To which I will add, that Cæsar is continually giving proofs of greater moderation and generosity than we once imagined he would have shewn. But as instances of this kind are generally produced by particular conjunctures, and frequently too depend upon very minute circumstances, I shall watch every favourable moment, and endeavour to improve it to your best advantage: for you may be assured I shall neglect no opportunity of assisting and alleviating your misfortunes. I hope, likewise, that the time is approaching, when I shall be enabled to promise you some more effectual

service: of which, however, I had much rather give you proofs, than professions. In the mean while be persuaded, that, as far as I have been capable of observing, there is no man who either is, or has been, under the same misfortune with yourself, that can boast of so many zealous and faithful friends: in which number I claim the principal rank.

Let me conclude with entreating you to preserve a firm and unbroken fortitude: for this is a possession which depends entirely upon yourself. As to what is in the disposal of Fortune, it must be governed by particular circumstances: and I shall exert all my prudence to turn them in the most advantageous manner for your interest. Farewel.

LETTER VI.

[A. U. 707.]

TO GALLUS⁴.

I AM much surprised at your reproaches: as I am sure they are altogether without foundation. But were they ever so just, they would come with a very ill grace from you, who ought
to

⁴ Manutius conjectures, that this Gallus is the same with Publius Sestius, to whom the fifth letter of the first book is addressed: whose family name, he supposes (from a passage which he cites out of the oration for Milo) to have been *Gallus*. That learned commentator supports this opinion with

to have remembered those marks of distinction you received from me during my consulate. It seems, however, (for so you are pleased to inform me) that Cæsar will certainly restore you. I know you are never sparing of your boasts; but I know too, that they have the ill luck never to be credited. It is in the same spirit you remind me, that you offered yourself as a candidate for the tribunitial office, merely in order to serve me⁵. Now to shew you how much I am in your interest, I wish you were a tribune still: as in that case you could not be at a loss for an *intercessor*⁶. You go on to reproach me, with not daring to speak my sentiments. In proof, however, of the contrary, I need only refer you to the reply I made, when you had the front to solicit my assistance.

Thus,

with some very plausible reasons: but as the point in question is of little consequence, the reader will readily excuse me that I save him the trouble of considering them. Gallus seems to have been in the number of the Pompeian exiles: and to have drawn upon himself this letter, in answer to one, wherein he had reproached Cicero with ingratitude, in refusing to assist him with his good offices.

⁵ Probably during Cicero's exile.

⁶ Cicero's witticism, in this passage, turns upon the double sense of the word *intercessor*: which, besides its general meaning, has relation likewise to a particular privilege annexed to the tribunitial office. For every tribune had the liberty of interposing his negative upon the proceedings of the senate: which act was called *intercessio*, and the person who executed it was said to be the *intercessor* of the particular law, or other matter in deliberation.

Thus, (to let you see how absolutely impotent you are, where you most affect to appear formidable) I thought proper to answer you in your own style. If you had made your remonstrances in the spirit of good manners, I should with pleasure, as I could with ease, have vindicated myself from your charge: and, in truth, it is not your conduct, but your language, that I have reason to resent. I am astonished, indeed, that you, of all men living, should accuse me of want of freedom, who are sensible it is by my means that there is any freedom left in the republic⁷. I say *you of all men living*: because, if the informations you gave me concerning Catiline's conspiracy were false; where are the services of which you remind me? If they were true, you yourself are the best judge how great those obligations are which I have conferred upon every Roman in general. Farewel.

LETTER

⁷ Alluding to his having suppressed Catiline's conspiracy.

LETTER VII.

[A. U. 707.]

TO P. SERVILIUS ISAURICUS, Proquæstor.

WHILST I was proconsul of Cilicia, (to which, you know, three Asiatic departments^s were annexed) there was no man with whom I entered into a stricter intimacy than with Andro, the son of Artemon, of Laodicea. I was his guest during my residence in that city : as his temper and manner of life extremely well accorded with mine. But my esteem for him rose still higher after I left the province, having, upon many subsequent occasions, experienced the gratitude with which he preserved me in his remembrance. Accordingly, it was with great pleasure

^s The classic writers speak of Asia in three different senses, which, if not carefully distinguished, are apt to create great confusion. Sometimes they comprehend under the denomination of *Asia*, that vast tract of land which made up the third part in their general division of the whole globe: sometimes they mean only so much of that continent which was terminated by the bay of Issus, and the Pontus; and sometimes they confine it to a still more limited portion, and understand by *Asia* that kingdom which Atalus Philometor, king of Pergamus, bequeathed to the Romans, containing Mysia, Phrygia, Ionia, Lycaonia, &c. In the two former of these senses, Cilicia was a province of Asia; in the latter it was not. It is with respect, therefore, to this last division that Cicero calls the three districts annexed to his government of Cilicia, *Asiatic*; in one of which the city of Laodicea was included. *Sigon. de Jur. Provinc. i. 10.*

pleasure I lately saw him in Rome: as you will easily believe, who know, by the many good offices you have yourself conferred upon his countrymen, how few of them are disposed to be thus sensible of obligations. I mention these circumstances to shew you, in the first place, that it is not without reason I interest myself in his concerns: and in the next, that his merit well entitles him to a generous reception under your roof. I shall be greatly indebted to you, therefore, for giving him a proof of the regard you bear me, by receiving him into your protection, and assisting him in all his affairs: so far, I mean, as may be consistent with your convenience and your honour. And this I most earnestly request, as an instance of your friendship that will be exceedingly agreeable to me. Farewel.

LETTER VIII.

[A. U. 707.]

TO TREBIANUS.

I AM no less sensible of the share you allow me in your friendship, than I am conscious of that affection which I have ever entertained for you in return. Agreeably to these sentiments, I always lamented that it was your choice, or rather, I should say, your fate, to persevere in our civil wars ;

wars; and I now feel the same concern at the unjust delay you meet with in being restored to your estate and honours, as you have always shewn in my misfortunes. I have frequently and fully opened my heart upon this subject, not only to Posthumulus, to Sestius, and to our common friend Atticus, but lately also to your freedman Theuda: to each of whom I have given repeated assurances, that it is my earnest desire to serve both you and your children to the utmost of my ability. I beg, therefore, when you write to the latter, that you would assure them they may most readily command me, upon every occasion, wherein my purse, my pains, or my sincere advice (for these, at least, are still in my power) can be of any advantage to their affairs. If I enjoyed that influence and authority in the commonwealth, to which the public services I have performed most justly entitle me; you, who deserve every honour that can be conferred, as well as are confessedly the first of that illustrious order to which you belong¹, should retain the same distinguished rank in the republic you once possessed. But since we both of us fell at the same time, and in the same cause², I can only promise you what yet remains

¹ The equestrian.

² That of Pompey.

remains in my power: the small assistance I mentioned above, together with that little degree of credit which I still, perhaps, have in some sort preserved from the general wreck of my former dignities. I have reason, indeed, from many instances, to believe, that Cæsar is not averse to me: and almost all his principal favourites, who happen to be persons to whom I have formerly rendered very considerable services, distinguish me with peculiar marks of their esteem and consideration. If, therefore, I should find a favourable opportunity of applying to Cæsar in your behalf, (which I am more and more inclined to hope, from what I can discover by the conversation of these my friends;) I shall not fail very strenuously to solicit him in person for your restoration, as it is upon the obtaining of this point that the recovery of your estate must depend. It is unnecessary to enter into particulars upon this article; let me only assure you, in one word, that I am wholly and most affectionately devoted to your service. But, as it much imports me that all your family should be apprised of this truth, I hope your letters will acquaint them, that Trebianus may command whatever is in the power of Cicero to perform. I particularly mention this, as I am desirous they should be persuaded that

that there is nothing so difficult which I should not with pleasure undertake; in order to render you any service. Farewel.

LETTER IX.

[A. U. 707.]

TO QUINTUS GALLIUS^a.

THOUGH I hope to receive many instances hereafter of the regard you bear me, (of which, indeed, you have long since rendered me sufficiently sensible) yet there is one which at present occurs, wherein you may give me a very convincing proof of your friendship. Lucius Oppius, the son of Marcus, is a merchant in Philomelium^b, with whom I am extremely intimate. But, besides warmly recommending him as a man I love, I must likewise claim your kindness to him, as he is an agent for Egnatius Rufus, a Roman knight, with whom I am most affectionately connected, not only by a daily intercourse, but by many and great good offices. I beseech you, then, to take the person of Oppius, together with the affairs of Egnatius, into your protection: a request which I make with
as

^a Who this person was, is entirely unknown. He seems to have been setting out for the government of one of the eastern provinces, when this letter was written.

^b A city of Phrygia, upon the borders of Galatia.

as much zeal as if my own interest were concerned. Again and again, therefore, I entreat your compliance. I beg, likewise, that you would give two or three lines to be presented to you as a memorandum when you shall arrive in your province. But I desire you would express them in such terms, as may strongly remind you how very earnestly I applied in behalf of these my friends. Farewel.

LETTER X.

[A. U. 707.]

TO MARCUS MARCELLUS.

I DARE not pretend to advise, or to animate a man of your distinguished judgment and magnanimity; much less shall I attempt to send you any consolation. If it be true, indeed, that you bear the sad events which have lately happened, in the manner I am informed, I have more reason to congratulate your fortitude, than to sooth your affliction. But were the fact entirely otherwise, and you had sunk under the pressure of our public misfortunes; yet I am so far from being qualified to alleviate your sorrows, that I am altogether incapable of assuaging my own. The single testimony, therefore, that I can give you of my
friendship,

friendship, is to convince your family, by my readiness in complying with all their requests, that there are no services so great which they have not reason to expect from me on your account.

But, notwithstanding I just now disclaimed all right of sending you my admonitions ; yet I cannot forbear saying (and you may consider it either as my advice, my opinion, or what my friendship would not suffer me to suppress) that I wish you would prevail with yourself to adopt the same measures which I have pursued, and return to Italy. I wish, indeed, you would be persuaded to think, that if the republic should in any degree subsist, you ought to live in it, as one who, though justly, and in the general estimation of the world, is deserving of the highest rank, yet wisely submitted to the irresistible necessity of the times : and if the republic should be totally destroyed, that you would look upon Rome as the most proper scene of exile. For, tell me, my friend, if liberty be the object of our pursuit, what part of the world is exempted from the present dominion ? or if some place of retirement be what we seek, where can we find a more eligible retreat, than in our native country ? And, believe me, he who holds the supreme power, is
not

not only a friend to genius and literature, but disposed, as far as the circumstances and situation of his affairs will permit, to pay a particular regard to those who are distinguished by their birth³ and dignities. But this is going farther than I intended. To return, therefore, to the single purpose of my letter; let me assure you that I am wholly yours, and ready to co-operate with your relations in every instance wherein they shall approve themselves such⁴. But if they should not, you may depend, at least, upon my acting, upon all occasions, agreeably to our friendship. Farewel.

LETTER

³ The family of Marcellus was one of the noblest in Rome. See rem. 3. p. 320. vol. i.

⁴ It appears from this and other passages in these letters, that some part of Marcellus's family discovered less warmth in promoting his welfare than seems to have been due to the merit of so illustrious a relation,

LETTER XI.

[A. U. 707.]

TO PAPIRIUS PÆTUS.

I RECEIVED a letter from you some time since by your courier Phileros, as also another three days ago by the hands of Zethus: both which I will now answer. It was with much satisfaction I found, by the former, that you were extremely sensible of the concern I expressed for your health. Believe me, however, a letter could but faintly represent the uneasiness I suffered upon that account. For though I cannot but acknowledge that there are many from whom I receive great marks of esteem and affection; yet there is not one in that number whom I prefer to yourself. It is a very great, perhaps I might say, a principal inducement for my holding you in this rank, that you have long distinguished me with an unvaried friendship: yet this is a circumstance which you share in common with many others. But your amiable disposition, and those agreeable qualities of every kind which you possess, are claims to my heart in which you are without a rival. To these I must add, I will not call it the Attic, but (what is far more spirited) the true

old Roman wit, which so elegantly enlivens your conversation. I will not scruple, indeed, to acknowledge, (whatever you may think of me from the confession) that I am wonderfully delighted with humour; especially with that sort which is of our own domestic growth. I esteem this latter kind so much the more, as it is now become extremely uncommon: for, by the admission some years since of the Latians⁵ into Rome, and lately even of the Gauls⁶ themselves, our native humour has been tainted with the infusion of foreign cant, and is almost entirely extinct⁷. For this reason, whenever I converse

⁵ The inhabitants of Latium: a part of Italy which is now called the *Campagna di Roma*. They obtained the honour and advantage of being made free of Rome, towards the close of the Italic war, A. U. 664. See rem. 2. p. 77. of vol. i. *Pigh. Annal.* ii. 226.

⁶ Cæsar, in the wantonness of his power, had lately admitted several of the Gauls into the privileges of Roman citizens: and had even introduced some of them to a seat in the senate. *Suet. in vit. Jul.* 76.

⁷ It is difficult, if not altogether impossible, to determine, with any precision, what it was that distinguished the spirit of this true old Roman wit and humour which Cicero here represents as almost entirely extinct. But, in general, as far as can be collected from other parts of our author's writings, it seems to have consisted in what they call *Urbanity*: a term, however, which they themselves did not well know how to explain. For when Brutus, in the dialogue concerning the most celebrated orators, inquires, *Qui est iste tandem urbanitatis color?* Cicero replies, *Nescio: tantum esse quandam scio*. Nevertheless, it appears, by what he immediately subjoins, to have resulted from a certain refinement of expression and elegance of pronunciation, which was to be found only amongst the most polite and cultivated natives of

verse with you I imagine myself transported back into former times, and to be talking with the Granii, the Lucilii, or, in truth, even with the Crassi and the Lælii of old^s. There is not a single person, indeed, except yourself, in whom I can discover the least vein of that original spirit which so agreeably distinguished the pleasantry of our forefathers. But since to these uncommon charms of wit, you add
the

of Rome. Perhaps, therefore, it was this inexplicable grace of language and utterance that was infected by the admission of these strangers into Rome: who, probably, had introduced among the little pretenders to wit and humour, a foreign tone of voice, together with an exotic turn of phraseology. A prevailing fashion of this kind, would necessarily extinguish that spirit which seasoned the old Roman pleasantry with a *nescio quo sa pore vernaculo* (as Cicero somewhere calls it) a certain exquisite taste and flavour peculiar to its native soil. *Vide Cic. de Clar. Orator. 170. et seq.*

^s The several persons here mentioned were celebrated wits, who flourished about the time that Cicero was born, that is, in the consulate of C. Atilius Serranus and Q. Servilius Cæpio, U. C. 647. The reader has already had some account of *Lælius* in rem. 5. p. 4. vol. 1. *Crassus* was the most distinguished orator of his times: and signalized his eloquence when he was only twenty-one years of age, at the trial of C. Carbo, who was concerned in the disturbances which were raised by the Gracchi. *Lucilius* was a Roman knight, and great uncle to Pompey. He considerably improved upon that kind of satirical poetry, which received its utmost perfection in the following century from the hands of Horace. Some fragments of his writings still remain. *Granius* was a person of low rank; being only a præco, or sort of cryer, in the courts of justice. Cicero, however, has immortalised his memory by the frequent encomiums he passes upon the singular elegance and pleasantry of his wit and humour. *Cic. de Clar. Orat. 158, 159, &c. Tac. Præf. sur les Sat. d'Horace. v. 10.*

the attractions, likewise, of so singular a friendship towards myself, can you wonder that I was greatly alarmed at your late very dangerous indisposition.

As to your other letter, in which you acquit yourself of all intention to dissuade me from my Neapolitan purchase^a, and the assurance you give me that you only meant to advise my continuance in Rome, I understood you in no other sense. But I suppose (and your letter now before me confirms the supposition) that you did not agree with me in thinking I might be justified, I will not say in wholly renouncing, but in seldom taking a part in public affairs. With this view I imagine it was, that you reminded me of those times in which Catulus acted so distinguished a part^b. But tell me, my friend, what resemblance

^a See the last paragraph in p. 262. of this vol.

^b Q. L. Catulus was consul in the year 675, and died about the year 693: during which period he had many opportunities of exerting his patriotism, by rising up against the gradual encroachments of Pompey and Cæsar upon the public liberty. Thus he opposed, with a spirit worthy the best times of ancient Rome, that unlimited and unconstitutional commission, which was granted to Pompey under a pretence of the piratic war: and rendered himself so gloriously obnoxious to Cæsar, that the latter endeavoured, though unsuccessfully, to blast his well-established credit, by an impeachment for embezzling the public treasure. In short, the welfare of his country was the great and constant object of his unwearied labours: in which he persevered with a zeal and resolution which no fears or hopes could shake; and which Cato, of all his contemporaries, seems alone to have equalled. *Pigh. Annal.* ii. 279. *Dio.* xxxvi. p. 18. 49. 50. *Orat. pro Sext.* 47.

blance is there between those days and the present? I was, at that period, far from being inclined to absent myself from the care of the republic, as I then sat at the helm of the commonwealth, and shared in the direction of its most important motions¹⁰. But now I can scarce claim the privilege to officiate even in the lowest functions of the state. Were I to reside, therefore, altogether at Naples, would there be a single decree of the senate the less by my absence? On the contrary, though I live in Rome, and appear publicly in the forum, they are settled by our friend¹¹ in his own house, entirely without my participation. If I happen, however, to occur to his memory, he sometimes does me the honour to prefix my name¹². Accordingly, I am often informed, from Syria and Armenia, that a decree of the senate is published in those provinces, and published, too, as made on my motion, of which I had never heard the least mention before. You will suspect, perhaps, that I am not serious; but, be assured, I speak the literal truth.

¹⁰ The consulate of Cicero fell within the period mentioned in the preceding remark; that is, in the year 690.

¹¹ Cæsar.

¹² It was usual, in drawing up the decrees of the senate, to prefix the names of those senators who were principally concerned in promoting them.

truth. I have, at this instant, letters in my possession from the remotest potentates of the globe, returning me thanks for having procured them an acknowledgment of their regal title from the senate¹³: when I was so far from knowing they were honoured with that appellation, that I was utterly ignorant there were any such persons existing. Nevertheless, as long as this *superintendant of our manners*¹⁴ shall continue in Rome, I will comply with your advice; but the moment he leaves us¹⁵, I shall certainly set out to join you over a plate of mushrooms.

¹³ It was the ambition of foreign princes to obtain an acknowledgment of their regal title from the senate, and to be declared friends and allies of the republic; an honour, which, in the more regular times of the Roman government, was but rarely granted, and only in consideration of some signal services. But, in that general corruption which preceded the ruin of the commonwealth, this honour became venal, as it supplied a very plentiful stream of wealth to those leading men in the state, who were not ashamed to prostitute the most sacred privileges to their insatiable avarice. Cæsar, in particular, drew immense riches from this single source; a strong instance of which has already been produced in rem. 2. p. 51. vol. 1. *Cæs. Bel. Gal.* i. 43. *Suet. in vit. Jul.* 54.

¹⁴ This title had lately been decreed to Cæsar, by which he was invested with all the power of the censorial office, without the name. It does not appear for what reason he chose this appellation rather than that of censor. Some have supposed that it was from an affectation of modesty; but they who assign this reason, seem to forget, that Cæsar did not blush to be associated with the gods in the public worship of his degenerate Romans. *Suet. in vit. Jul.* 76. *Appian. Bel. Civil.* iii. p. 494.

¹⁵ Cæsar was at this time preparing to set out upon his expedition against the two sons of Pompey, who had assembled a very considerable army in Spain.

mushrooms¹⁶. If I can procure a house at Naples, it is my purpose, you must know, to live so abstemiously, that what our late sumptuary law¹⁷ allows for one day's expence, shall suffice me for ten. But, if I cannot meet with one to my satisfaction, I intend to be your guest, and I am sure it is not in my power to oblige you more.

Though I mentioned in my last, that I almost despaired of Sylla's house, yet I have not absolutely given up all thoughts of that purchase. Agreeably, therefore, to your offer, I beg you would take some workmen with you in order to survey it; for, if the walls and roof are in a good repair, I shall perfectly well approve of all the rest. Farewel.

LETTER.

¹⁶ This dish was in great esteem among the Romans.

¹⁷ This law was enacted by Cæsar soon after his return from the African war. It regulated the expences of the Romans, not only with regard to their tables, but also their dress, equipage, furniture, and buildings. But Cæsar seems to have found it a much easier task to corrupt, than to reform; for though he was very desirous of enforcing this salutary law; yet, it appears to have been extremely ill observed. *Suet. in Jul.* 43. *Ad Att.* xiii. 7.

LETTER XII.

[A. U. 707.]

TO TREBONIUS.

THOUGH I had always a great affection for Dolabella, yet I never received any favour from him till now. Indeed, he never before had an opportunity of repaying those good offices he owed me, for having more than once stood forth in his defence. But his late zeal in protecting your estate, together with his present assistance in promoting your restoration, have so abundantly satisfied every claim I have to his services, that there is no man to whom I think myself more strongly obliged. I take so sincere a part with you in the joy of this event, that, instead of your thanks, I expect your congratulations. The former, indeed, I by no means desire; but the latter you may, with great propriety, send me.

Since your distinguished merit has thus removed all obstructions to your return, it will be agreeable to your good sense, and greatness of mind, to forget all that you have lost, and reflect only on the advantages you have recovered. You will remember, then, that you are restored to your family and to your friends;
and

and that, whatever you have suffered in your estate, is considerably over-balanced by the glory you have acquired; which, I am persuaded, would be still more acceptable to you, if the republic had in any degree subsisted.

I have received a letter from my friend Vestorius, wherein he informs me of the grateful mention you make of my services. I am extremely obliged to you for your professions of this kind in general, but particularly for those you expressed to our friend Syro^a: as I am greatly desirous to approve my conduct upon all occasions to every sensible and judicious man. I hope to see you very soon. Farewel.

LETTER

^a A celebrated Epicurean philosopher, who is said to have been Virgil's preceptor.

LETTER XIII.

[A. U. 707.]

TO MARCUS BRUTUS.

I AM persuaded that your quæstor, Marcus Varro, who is setting out to attend you, needs no recommendation to your favour; for I doubt not,

Marcus Brutus was nephew to Cato, whose virtues he had the just ambition to copy. He seems, however, in some points, to have fallen short of the model he proposed to imitate; as he by no means acted up to that inflexible uniformity of conduct, which renders the character of Cato so gloriously singular. Thus, though Brutus, at the battle of Pharsalia, engaged on the side of Pompey; yet, immediately after the unsuccessful event of that action, he not only made his peace with Cæsar, but was willing to contribute to the ruin of that cause in which he had so lately engaged. For, when Cæsar was doubtful what route Pompey had taken in his flight, it was by the advice and information of Brutus that he followed him into Egypt. Cæsar, just before he set out for Africa, appointed Brutus governor of Cisalpine Gaul, which he administered with great moderation and integrity. It was during his residence in this province, that the present and following letters addressed to him in this book, appear to have been written. *Plut. in vit. Brut.*

² Some of the commentators have supposed, that this is the celebrated Marcus Terentius Varro, to whom several letters in the preceding book are addressed. But Cellarius has justly observed, that the age and dignity of that illustrious Roman, render it highly improbable he should at this time have been quæstor to Brutus, who was a much younger man than himself. Perhaps the person recommended in this letter, is the same whom Horace mentions as an unsuccessful adventurer in satiric poetry :

*Hoc erat, experto frustra Varrone Atacino,
Atque quibusdam aliis, melius quod scribere possem.*

Sat. x. lib. i. 46.

For

not, that, in conformity to the maxims of our forefathers, you look upon his office as giving him a sufficient title to your regard. And I need not tell you, that it was the policy of ancient times to consider the relation between a proconsul and his quæstor, as next to that of a father and son. However, as Varro imagines that a letter from me will have great weight, and has pressed me to write to you in the strongest terms, I willingly perform an office, which, he believes, will prove so much to his advantage. That you may be sensible I ought not to refuse this request, I must inform you, that he cultivated my friendship from his first appearance in the forum; as, in his more mature years, two circumstances concurred, which extremely increased the affection I had conceived for him; the one, that he distinguished himself, as you well know, with great genius and application in that persuasive art, in which I still take particular pleasure; the other, that he early became a member of the society for farming

For the commentators upon these lines inform us, that the poet here spoken of was Terentius Varro, a native of the city of *Atax*, in the Narbonensian Gaul, from which he was called *Atacinus*, and who was born in the year of Rome 673. He must, consequently, in the present year, have been thirty-four, which perfectly well coincides with the age one may justly suppose the person to have been, in whose favour this letter is written.

farming the public revenues. I wish, indeed, that he had never embarked in their concerns, as he has been a considerable sufferer by his engagements of this sort. However, his union with a company for whose interests I have so great a regard, was one means of more strongly cementing our friendship. After having acted with the highest integrity and applause, both as an advocate and a judge, he turned his ambition (long, indeed, before this revolution in the commonwealth had taken place) upon obtaining some employment in the magistracy; and he esteemed the honours of this kind, which his country should confer upon him, as the noblest reward of all his former services. During my late residence at Brundisium³, he obligingly charged himself with carrying a letter and a message from me to Cæsar; and he gave me a very strong proof of his affection, in the zeal and fidelity with which he undertook and executed this generous commission.

I purposed, after having thus assigned the reasons which induce me to give Varro my friendship, to have particularly pointed out the virtues of his heart; but I think I must have sufficiently rendered you sensible of these, by declaring upon what motives he has so strongly engaged
my

³ Cicero, upon his return to Italy, after the battle of Pharsalia, resided at Brundisium till Cæsar's arrival.

my affection. Nevertheless, I will here, in a more distinct and explicit manner, assure you, that you will receive much satisfaction and advantage from the company and assistance of my friend. You will find him, indeed, to be a man of singular modesty and good sense, as well as of indefatigable application to business, at the same time that he is an entire stranger to immoderate desires of every kind. I know not whether I ought to promise thus far in his behalf, as his character, after all, must be referred to your own experience. But in forming new connexions of every sort, it is of much importance in what manner the first approaches are made, and by whose hands the avenues of friendship (if I may so express myself) are laid open. It is this office that I have here undertaken; and though the employment in which Varro stands related to you may well render my services unnecessary, yet they certainly cannot render them prejudicial. If, then, I possess that share in your esteem which Varro imagines, and which I myself am persuaded I enjoy, let me soon have the satisfaction of hearing that my friend has received all the advantages from this letter that are agreeable to his own hopes, and to my firm expectations. Farewel.

LETTER

LETTER XIV.

[A. U. 707.]

TO LIGARIUS⁴.

THOUGH, agreeably to the friendship which subsists between us, I ought to have offered you either assistance or consolation under your misfortunes; yet I have hitherto forborne writing, in the belief that it was not in the power of mere words to remove or alleviate your afflictions. But, as I have now reason to entertain the strongest hopes of shortly seeing you restored to your country, I cannot any longer omit to acquaint you with my sentiments and inclination concerning your affairs. In the first place, then, I am well convinced that you will by no means find Cæsar inexorable. The situation of public circumstances, a regard to his character in the world, length of time, together with what appears to me to be his natural temper, these all concur to soften his resentment every day more and more.

This

⁴ Quintus Ligarius was lieutenant to C. Considius, pro-consul of Africa, in the year 703; in which post he gained the general esteem of the whole province. Accordingly, at their unanimous request, Considius, upon his departure from Rome, resigned the administration into the hands of Ligarius. During his residence in that station, the civil war broke out; and he was at this time suffering exile, for having acted upon that occasion on the side of Pompey.—*Orat. pro. Ligar. i. See rem. i. p. 366. of this vol.*

This, I imagine, will appear to be his disposition towards all in general who have offended him; but that it is particularly so with respect to yourself, I will assure you upon the authority of his most intimate friends. I have never ceased to solicit them in your behalf ever since we received the first news from Africa: and your brothers have, with equal assiduity, joined me in these applications. Their virtues, indeed, together with that affectionate and unwearied zeal with which they enter into your cause, are so extremely engaging, that I am persuaded even Cæsar himself cannot refuse any thing to their requests⁵. But if we do not advance with all the expedition we wish, it must be imputed to those numberless and important occupations which render Cæsar difficult of access; as it is to him alone that every suit is now preferred. To this I must add, that, as he was particularly incensed by the late war fomented against him in Africa, he was inclined to keep those so much longer in suspense concerning their fate, to whom he imagines it was owing that he had so many additional

⁵ Concerning Cæsar's victory over Scipio.

⁶ The two brothers of Ligarius seem to have stood neuters in the civil war. But one of them had something more than a mere negative merit to plead, as he had distinguished himself, during his quæstorship, by promoting the honours and interest of Cæsar. *Orat. pro. Ligar.* 12.

ditional difficulties to encounter. But his resentment, even upon this article also, appears evidently to be cooling ; and I desire you would both believe and remember the assurance I here give you, that you will soon be removed from your present uneasy situation.

Having thus acquainted you with my sentiments of your affairs, I had rather leave it to my actions than professions, to declare how much I wish to assist you in them. Let me assure you, however, if I possessed that influence in the commonwealth, which you are pleased to think I have merited by my services, you should have no reason to regret your present circumstances.--- But, alas ! the same cause for which you are suffering in your person, has impaired me in my credit. But whatever remains to me of my former authority ; whatever shadow still attends me of that dignity I once enjoyed ; in a word, as far as my advice, my assistance, or my interest can avail, they shall, upon all occasions, be faithfully employed in seconding the pious zeal of your excellent brothers. In the mean time, preserve that manly composure of mind which you have always possessed. You ought to do so, indeed, in the first place, for the reasons I have already assigned ; and in the next, because your public conduct has ever been such

such as to afford you a just ground to entertain the most favourable hopes. But were your prospect entirely the reverse, yet a consciousness of the integrity of all your counsels and actions, with regard to the commonwealth, should enable you to support the worst that can happen with a firm and unshaken fortitude. Farewel.

LETTER XV.

[A. U. 707.]

TO MARCUS BRUTUS.

I HAVE always had the satisfaction to observe that you were particularly inquisitive into every circumstance relating to me. I doubt not, therefore, of your being apprised, not only that Arpinum is the place of my nativity, but that, upon all occasions, I zealously patronise the interests of this city. The whole of their revenues for religious purposes, as also for the repairs of their temples and other public buildings, arises entirely from their estates in Gaul. Accordingly we have dispatched Quintus Fufidius, Marcus Faucius, and Quintus Mamer-cus, each of them persons of equestrian rank, in order to collect the rents, and to inspect our affairs in that province. I therefore recommend them to your particular protection, entreating

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you,

you, by our mutual friendship, to assist them in the speedy and successful discharge of their commission, and to distinguish their persons, agreeably to your usual politeness, with every possible mark of honour. You will, by these means, add three very worthy men to the number of your friends, as well as oblige a community extremely sensible of the good offices they receive. Let me add, too, you will perform a service highly acceptable also to myself; who, as I have at all times stood forth the patron of the Arpinates, am in a more especial manner engaged to take their interests under my protection during the present year. For, in order to the better government of this corporation, I have procured my son and nephew, together with my friend Marcus Cæsius, to be chosen ædiles; the only magistrates which our city admits. It will be much, therefore, to the credit of their administration, as well as a particular honour to myself, if the affairs of this community, during their office, should, by the assistance of your generous services, be placed in a more advantageous posture. For which purpose I must again most earnestly conjure you to comply with my present request.—
Farewel.

LETTER

LETTER XVI.

[A. U. 707.]

To the same.

I HAVE, in a separate letter, recommended to you, with all possible warmth, the commissaries appointed by the city of Arpinum. But I shall here single out one of them, in particular, and desire your peculiar regards to Q. Fufidius, a person with whom I am united by every friendly tie. I do not mean, however, by thus distinguishing him from the rest, to lessen the weight of my general recommendation, but only to add this as a sort of supplement to what I have there requested. Fufidius, who is son-in-law to my particular friend Marcus Cæsius, acted under me in Cilicia, in quality of military tribune; and he acquitted himself so much to my satisfaction, that I had reason to think I received a favour, instead of bestowing one, when I nominated him to that employment. To this I must add, what I know will considerably raise him in your esteem, that he has a taste and genius for our favourite studies. Let me entreat you, then, to receive my friend with the most distinguishing marks of your politeness, and to assist him in the more effectual discharge of an office which he accepted merely in compliance with

with my persuasions, and contrary to his own convenience. But as it is the ambition of every man of a generous mind to be approved in all his actions, Fufidius is desirous of executing this commission in such a manner, as to merit not only my applause in particular, who engaged him to undertake it, but that, likewise, of our whole community in general. Now this he will undoubtedly receive, if my recommendation should procure him your friendly offices. Farewel.

LETTER XVII.

[A. U. 707.]



TO SERVIUS SULPICIUS.

THE excuse you alledge for so frequently sending me duplicates of your letters, I very readily admit; so far, I mean, as it relates to your caution of guarding against the negligence or treachery of those who undertake to deliver them. But when you add, that a poverty of genius likewise (to use your own expression) obliges you to this continual repetition, it is an apology I can neither approve nor allow. On the contrary, I who am enriched, as you ironically tell me (for in that sense I understand your compliment) with all the treasures of eloquence,
and

and who, in good earnest, do not think myself wholly destitute of them; even I am far from pretending to equal the delicacy and elegance of your compositions.

I always approved of your having accepted the government of Achaia: but much more so, after I had read your last letter. The several reasons you mention are every one of them perfectly just, and altogether worthy of that prudence and dignity which distinguishes your character. But I can by no means agree with you in thinking, that this affair has proved so different from what you expected as to give you just occasion to condemn the step you have taken. The truth of it is, the dreadful confusion and desolation which this detestable civil war has universally spread, inclines every man to imagine that both himself, and the scene in which he happens to be placed, are, of all others, the most completely miserable. Hence it is that you repent of the choice you have made, and look upon us as much happier who remain at Rome; whereas we, on the contrary, though we do not suppose your situation is wholly without its inconveniencies, yet think it greatly preferable to our own. In one respect I am sure it is so; as you have at least the happiness of daring to write your complaints: which is more than we can do with any safety.

This, however, is not to be imputed to the conqueror; who conducts himself, it must be acknowledged, with the utmost moderation: but is entirely owing to that general spirit of insolence, which victory, in all civil wars, never fails to inspire. The single point in which our situation can pretend to have had the advantage of yours is, that it gave us the satisfaction not only of knowing somewhat earlier than you could, that your colleague Marcellus⁷ has obtained his pardon; but of being witnesses in what manner that whole affair was conducted. For, be assured, it is the only honourable transaction, of a public nature, that has passed amongst us since the breaking out of this calamitous civil war. Cæsar, after having complained of the *acrimony* (as he called it) with which Marcellus had opposed him, and mentioned, with the highest applause, the equity and prudence of your conduct in the same conjuncture⁸; on a sudden, and much beyond our expectations, declared, that notwithstanding he had so much reason to complain of Marcellus, he could not refuse to pardon him at the general request of the senate. For I should have told you, that as soon as Lucius Piso had mentioned

⁷ Sulpicius and Marcellus were colleagues in the office of consul. An. Urb. 702.

⁸ That is, during the consulate of Sulpicius and Marcellus. See an account of his conduct at this critical period, in rem. 2. p. 120 of this vol.

mentioned in the senate the affair of Marcellus, and his relation Caius Marcellus had thrown himself at Cæsar's feet, the whole house unanimously rose up, and approaching towards Cæsar, joined in one common intercession. In short, there was something so truly glorious in the transaction of that day, that I could not but look upon it as a sort of symptom that the republic was again reviving. All the senators who had been asked⁹ their opinion before me, severally returned their acknowledgments to Cæsar, except Volcatius¹⁰: who declared that he would not have made them, even if he had been in the place of Marcellus himself. But when it came to my turn, I instantly changed a resolution which I had long formed. I had determined,

⁹ When a question was moved in the senate, the method of debating upon it was, that the consul, after having delivered his own opinion, proceeded to ask the opinions of all the other senators severally by name, and in their proper order; beginning always with the consulars, and going on to the prætorians, &c. *Mid. on the R. S. p. 150.*

¹⁰ Probably the person here mentioned, is Lucius Volcatius Tullus, who was consul in the year 687. The noble spirit which he shewed upon this occasion, in scorning to thank Cæsar for what the usurper ought to have had no power to bestow, was worthy of the best ages of the republic: and though Cicero speaks of it without the least approbation, it was the only circumstance in this business that merited his applause. For must it not have affected a true patriot with the utmost concern and indignation, to see the Roman senate, that august council of the whole world (as Cicero himself has somewhere called it) humbly supplicating, at the feet of Cæsar, for the restoration of one of the most illustrious citizens of the commonwealth?

determined, not from indolence, believe me, but as being sensible of the want of that authority which once attended my eloquence, to preserve a perpetual silence in public. But the greatness of mind which Cæsar discovered upon this occasion, together with that noble zeal which broke forth at the same time in the senate, entirely overcame the strength of my resolution: and I addressed my acknowledgments to Cæsar in a long harangue¹¹. This, I fear, may prove the occasion, in other instances, of drawing me out from that literary retirement, which affords the single consolation I receive under our general misfortunes. Nevertheless, since I have, by this mean, avoided giving Cæsar offence, who, perhaps, would have interpreted my silence into a proof that I considered the republic as no longer subsisting; I shall, now and then, resume this practice: I shall resume it, however, extremely seldom, and only just enough to comply with his inclinations, without interrupting my philosophical studies. For though I was early devoted to all the liberal arts and sciences, and particularly to philosophy, yet I find my
passion

¹¹ This speech is still extant: and perhaps it is one of the noblest monuments that remains of the grace and energy of ancient eloquence. It abounds with the most spirited and best turned compliments, that wit ever paid to power: for which the severest patriotism could scarce condemn Cicero, as they all artfully tend to induce Cæsar to restore the republic.

passion for her growing still stronger upon me every day I live: perhaps it is, because age has rendered me more mature for the lessons of wisdom, and that the misery of the times have deprived me of every other relief. I perceive by your letters that you are called off by numberless occupations from studies of this kind: I hope, however, that the long nights will now afford you some leisure to resume them.

Your son (and let me call him also mine) distinguishes me with great marks of his consideration: as in return I admire him not only for his probity and virtue, but for his learning and genius. He frequently confers with me in relation to your resigning, or continuing in your government: and I still remain in the same opinion, that we should neither of us take any measures but such as shall be perfectly agreeable to Cæsar. Affairs are so situated at Rome, that you could find no other satisfaction in being here, than what would arise from enjoying the company of your friends and family. For though Cæsar's conduct is unexceptionable, yet, with respect to all the rest, both of persons and circumstances, I am sure you would much rather (if one or other must necessarily be your choice) receive an account of them from others, than be a spectator of them yourself. When I say this, it is in preference of *your* interest to

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my

own: as upon all other considerations I am extremely desirous of seeing you amongst us. Farewel.

LETTER XVIII.

[A. U. 707.]

TO MARCUS BRUTUS.

LUCIUS CASTRONIUS PÆTUS, is by far the most considerable person in the city of Lucca: but not more distinguished, however, by his birth and rank, than by the solidity of his understanding, and the friendliness of his disposition. In one word, he is in every respect a most worthy man. I might add too (if it were of any importance to his character) that he is not only conspicuous for his eminent virtues, but for his affluent fortunes. I converse with him upon terms of the most unreserved intimacy; and, indeed, there is no man of senatorian rank whom he treats with greater marks of esteem. I therefore recommend him to you, not only as *my* friend, but as worthy of being *yours*. And I am very sure, that, whatever service you shall render him, will afford a satisfaction to yourself, as well as confer an obligation upon me. Farewel.

LETTER

LETTER XIX.

[A. U. 707.]

TO MARCUS MARCELLUS.

I SENT you a long letter¹, a very few days ago, by Quintius Mucius; wherein I fully explained my sentiments with respect to the disposition and conduct which I thought would become you in the present conjuncture. Nevertheless, as your freedman Theophilus (of whose faithful affection towards you I have been a witness) is setting out for Greece, I was unwilling he should wait upon you without bringing a letter from me.

To repeat what I urged in my last; let me again most earnestly exhort you, whatever the form of our government be, to return to Rome as soon as possible. 'Tis true, you will have the mortification, perhaps, to see many things that will give you pain: but not more, however, than you every day learn from common report. Now it would be unworthy a man of your character, to be affected only with what passes before his view: when he can hear the very same facts related, (and probably magnified

¹ This letter is not extant: but it probably contained an account of what had passed in the senate, concerning the restoration of Marcellus. See p. 388 of this vol.

fied too) with less concern.—But you will tell me, perhaps, that should you return to Rome, you must submit either to act or to speak in contradiction to the sentiments of your heart. In answer to which, I must observe, in the first place, that it has ever been deemed the part of true wisdom, to yield to the circumstances of the times; or to express the same thing in other words, to comply with unavoidable necessity: and, in the next place, that, as matters now stand, the constraint you fear is in no sort among the number of our present grievances. 'Tis possible, indeed, that you may not be at liberty openly to declare your opinions: but totally silent you may, undoubtedly, be. For the sole cognizance of all affairs is centered in a single person³: and he determines as seems good to himself, without consulting any of his party. And this would have been pretty much the case, had that other chief⁴, whose cause we chose to follow, been now in possession of the commonwealth. For at a time when we were all embarked with him in the same common danger, he admitted none into his council, but those that were ill qualified to be his advisers. And can it be supposed that he would have placed himself
more

³ Caesar.

⁴ Pompey.

more upon a level with us after victory, than when his success was altogether doubtful? Is it to be imagined, that he who rejected those most prudent measures you recommended in your consulate, and refused, likewise, to follow the concurrent sentiments of you and your relation⁵ who succeeded you in that office, and administered it by your counsels—is it to be imagined that such a man, were he now at the head of the commonwealth, would consult either your opinion or mine? All civil wars abound with numberless calamities: a truth, which though our ancestors were so happy as never once to have experienced, the present generation too frequently has⁶. But amidst its many miserable consequences, none is more justly to be dreaded than victory itself. For though it should turn on the more meritorious side, yet it will be apt to inspire even these with a spirit of insolence and cruelty: and if they should not be so by inclination, they at least will by necessity. For, in many instances, the victor must find himself constrained to comply with the will of those who assisted him in his conquest. Tell me, my friend, did we not both foresee

⁵ Caius Marcellus.

⁶ The first civil war, in the strict acceptation of that term, which Rome had ever seen, was between Marius and Sylla: about forty-two years before the date of this letter.

foresee what cruelties would have been exercised, if our party had proved successful? And would you, in that case, have lived an exile from your country, that you might not have been a spectator of so sad a scene? I know you will reply in the negative: and will assure me, that you should then have remained in the undisturbed possession of your estate and honours. Yet certainly it would have become a man of your patriotic spirit to have been far less concerned for his own interest, than for that of the republic.

But to what purpose, let me farther ask, should you persevere in banishing yourself from Rome? Hitherto, indeed, the world has approved your conduct, in having entered into the civil war with reluctance, and in having wisely declined pushing it to its last desperate extremity. The world admires, too, your good fortune (as it may justly be called, considering the distracted state of the times) in having been able to maintain your dignity and reputation in an honourable retreat. But the time is now arrived, when you ought to think no place more desirable than your native country. If she appears less beautiful than formerly, this circumstance should not diminish your affection, but rather raise your compassion: and, as there are so many illustrious citizens whose

whose loss she deplores, you should spare her the additional sorrow of being deprived likewise of you. If you discovered a true greatness of spirit in scorning to be the suppliant of Cæsar's power, may you not betray too much pride in contemning the offers of his clemency? And if you acted wisely in withdrawing from your country, may it not be thought insensibility, should you shew no desire of returning? In a word, though you should take no satisfaction in public affairs, yet surely it is imprudent to abandon your own. But, above all, let me entreat you to consider whether your present situation is as secure, as it may perhaps be agreeable. Violences are every where committed with great licentiousness: but more particularly in foreign countries, where villany is less restrained by awe and shame from its cruel purposes. I mention this from my concern for your welfare: which is so great, indeed, that if it be not equal, it is certainly, at least, inferior only to that of your relation Marcellus⁷. Believe me then, it becomes you to act agreeably to the circumstances of the times, and with a rational regard to the preservation of your life and fortunes. Farewel.

LETTER

⁷ Caius Marcellus.

LETTER XX.

[A. U. 707.]

MARCUS MARCELLUS^s to CICERO.

I HAVE, upon every occasion, shewn you, but particularly in the present, that I pay the highest regard to your sentiments and advice. Accordingly, notwithstanding my very affectionate relation Caius Marcellus, had not only entertained, but earnestly conjured me to act in the manner you recommend, yet his persuasions could by no means prevail, till I found them supported by yours.

I am indebted to your letter for a particular account of the manner in which this affair has been transacted : and I am extremely obliged to you for your congratulations thereupon, as I know they proceed from an excellent heart. But among the very few friends and relations who have sincerely endeavoured to promote my recal, nothing in this whole transaction affords me so true a joy, as to have experienced your singular zeal and good-will towards me. Every thing else, indeed, the calamities of the times have taught me to resign with great tranquillity and

^s This letter seems to be an answer to that which is mentioned in the first remark on the preceding epistle.

and indifference: but to be deprived of the friendship of men of your worth and character, would render life, under every circumstance, altogether insupportable. It is upon the enjoyment, therefore, of this privilege, that I chiefly congratulate myself: and I shall endeavour to convince you, that you have conferred your good offices upon one who is most sincerely and warmly your friend. Farewel.

LETTER XXI.

[A. U. 707.]

TO MARCUS BRUTUS.

LUCIUS TITIVS STRABO is one of the most illustrious and most distinguished of our Roman knights. I live with him in the strictest familiarity: as, indeed, we are united by every kind of friendly connexion. He claims a debt which is owing to him in your province, from Publius Cornelius: but Volcatius, who presides in our court of justice⁹ at Rome, having refused to

⁹ The person who so presided was, according to the constitution of the Roman government, the *Prætor Urbanus*, or city prætor: but Cæsar would not suffer the people to proceed this year to the usual election of their magistrates, excepting only with respect to the tribunes and ædiles. Instead of prætors, therefore, he arbitrarily appointed a certain number of persons to administer the civil jurisdiction of the city, which is the reason (as one of the commentators conjectures) that Cicero does not call Volcatius by the proper title of his office. *Suet. in Jul. 76.*

to take cognizance of the cause, has directed it to be tried in Gaul. I request your assistance, therefore, in bringing this affair to a speedy determination: and I request it so much the more earnestly than if it were my own, as a man may, with a better grace, be anxious for the pecuniary concerns that relate to his friend than to himself. Let me entreat you, then, to take the whole conduct of this business under your immediate direction. And I hope you will endeavour, as far as justice shall permit, that Strabo's freedman, who is employed to manage this suit, may recover the money in question with as little trouble and expence as possible. In this you will greatly oblige me: and you will find, likewise, that Strabo is extremely deserving of your friendship. Again and again, therefore, I conjure you to take his interest under your protection, with the same care you are wont to exert in every instance that you know will be agreeable to me. Farewel.

LETTER XXII.

[A. U. 707.]

TO L. PAPIRIUS PÆTUS.

I WRITE this letter in great haste upon my tablets, in the midst of an entertainment¹ at the house of Volumnius. We lay down about the ninth hour²: and I am placed with your friends Atticus on my right hand, and Verrius on my left. You will wonder to find that I can pass my time thus jovially in the midst of servitude. Yet tell me, my friend, you who are the disciple of a philosopher, what else should I do? And to what purpose should I torment myself with endless disquietudes? "Spend your days," you will, probably, reply, "in literary occupations." But can you imagine I have any other? or that, without them, my very being would not be utterly insupportable? However, though employments of this kind cannot satiate, there is a certain time, nevertheless, when it is proper to

¹ The time of meals seems a very extraordinary season for the purpose of writing letters. However, it was customary with the Romans to employ themselves in this manner between the several courses: and they usually carried tablets about them for that use. Plutarch informs us, that Cæsar generally signed his dispatches at table. *Plut. in vit. Cas.*

² The Romans reclined themselves upon couches at their meals. The ninth hour answers to our three o'clock in the afternoon, and was the usual time when they made their last and principal meal.

to lay them aside. Now, at such intervals, though a party at supper is not altogether a point of so much importance to me, as it was to you, when you made it the single subject of your arch query to the philosopher³; yet I know not in what manner I can more agreeably dispose of myself till the hour of sleep. But I was going to name the rest of our company, and to tell you that⁴ Cytheris is reclined⁵ at the left hand of Eutrapelus. You will be astonished, I suppose, to find your grave and philosophical friend in such society: and will be apt to cry out with the poet⁶,

And is this he, the man so late renown'd ?

Whom virtue honour'd, and whom glory crown'd :

This the fam'd chief, of every tongue the praise :

Of Greece the wonder, and of crowds the gaze :

The truth of the matter is, I had not the least suspicion that this fair lady was to be of our party.

³ The story to which Cicero here alludes, is more explicitly mentioned in a subsequent part of this letter.

⁴ A celebrated courtesan, who, a few years before the date of this letter, had been a very favourite mistress of Mark Antony. If the authority of Servius may be relied upon; she is the *Lycoris* whose infidelity to the poet Gallus is the subject of the last of Virgil's pastorals. *Plut. in vit. Ant. Serv. Virg. Eclog. 10.*

⁵ The reclining posture, at table, was esteemed indecent for women, and only practised by those of a loose character: as the Roman ladies of modesty always sat at their meals.

⁶ Manutius supposes that the verses here quoted are from a tragedy of the poet Ennius, entitled *Telamon*: which is frequently mentioned by the ancient grammarians.

party. However, I have the example of the Socratic Aristippus⁷, to keep me in countenance : who, when he was reproached with having a commerce of gallantry with the Corinthian courtesan; *'tis true*, replied the philosopher, (without being in the least disconcerted) *I possess Lais; but Lais possesses not me*. The expression is much stronger in the original⁸; and I leave you, if you think proper, to render it in its full import. In the mean time, let me assure you, that I never had any passion of this sort, even when I was a young fellow, and much less now that I am an old one. But my great delight is in these festive meetings, where I throw out just what comes uppermost, and laugh away the sighs and sorrows of my heart. Nor were you yourself in a more serious mood, my friend, when even a venerable philosopher could not escape your railery; to whom, when he was enquiring if the company had any questions to propose to him⁹, you replied, with great gravity, that "it had been
" a question

⁷ He was a disciple of Socrates; but either mistaking or perverting the lessons of his excellent master, he maintained that "sensual pleasure was the supreme and ultimate good." His practice was agreeable to his doctrine, and he spent his life (a great part of which he passed at the court of Dionysius; the Sicilian tyrant) in every kind of luxurious indulgence. *Cic. de Orat.* iii. 16. 17. *Athen. Deipn.* 12.

⁸ *ἔχω Λαῖδα καὶ ἔχεται*, was the answer of Aristippus; where the verb *έχω*, as Manutius observes, conveys a more obscene sense than the word *habeo*, into which Cicero translates it.

⁹ The conceitedness of the ancient Sophists was so extravagant, that they pretended to be possessed of all knowledge;
VOL. II. A a human

“ a question with you the whole morning, where “ you should find a party to sup?” The formal pedant expected, perhaps, that you were going to ask him, whether there was one heaven only; or heavens innumerable; whereas it was at that time, it seems, much more your concern to be resolved in the humourous problem you proposed.

Thus you see in what manner I pass my time. I devote part of every day to reading or writing; after which, that I may not entirely seclude myself from the society of my friends, I generally sup in their parties. But upon these occasions I am so far from transgressing our sumptuary law, (if any law, alas! can now be said to subsist) that I do not even indulge myself to the full extent it allows. You need not be alarmed, therefore, at my intended visit: you will receive a guest who jokes much more abundantly than he eats. Farewel.

LETTER

human and divine; insomuch that one of them publicly boasted, at the Olympic games, that he was not only master of the whole circle of liberal arts and sciences, but of the meanest mechanic crafts. Accordingly, it was customary with them to call upon their audience to propose any question whatever, in which they were desirous to be informed; which was no sooner delivered out, than these philological mountebanks harangued upon it in that fluent jargon with which school-men, in all ages, have been so liberally endowed.—The first who assumed these impious, shall they be termed, or ridiculous pretensions to omniscience, was one Gorgias, a Grecian: and this man, who, in more enlightened days, would have been looked upon with the utmost contempt by all true philosophers, was held in such high esteem by his countrymen, that they erected a statue to his memory, of solid gold. *Cic. de Orat. iii. 32. de Finib. ii.*

LETTER XXIII.

[A. U. 707.]

TO AMPIUS¹.

BELIEVE me, my dear Appius, it is with the utmost reason that I congratulate you on the success of your affairs. I am by no means, indeed, so imprudent, as to flatter you with false hopes; for an unexpected disappointment would probably so depress your spirits, that nothing would ever be capable of raising them again.

I have solicited your cause with more freedom than was altogether suitable, perhaps, to a man in my circumstances; as the invariable friendship which I have ever borne towards you, and which you have always most faithfully cultivated, taught me to surmount the difficulties that fortune, by impairing my credit, had thrown in my way. Accordingly the promise of your pardon is obtained, and all preliminaries

¹ Titus Ampius had gradually risen through the several employments of the state, till he arrived at the prætorship: from which post he was elected, in the year 696, to the government of Cilicia. As he had distinguished himself, during his tribunate, by promoting the interest and honours of Pompey, so he appears to have been a warm partisan of his cause in the civil wars; in consequence of which, he was at this time in exile. *Pigh. Annal.* iii. 376.

ries are adjusted and confirmed that relate to your restoration. I speak this upon my own certain knowledge, having been a witness to the whole transaction. It happens, indeed, very luckily, that I am connected with all Cæsar's favourites; insomuch that, next to Cæsar, there is no one who stands so high in their friendship as myself. Pansa, Hirtius, and Oppius; Balbus, Matius, and Postumius, have each of them distinguished me with particular marks of their esteem. If I had endeavoured to establish this interest, merely with a view of serving you in the present conjuncture, I should by no means think I had reason to be ashamed. But I did not cultivate their good graces upon any motive of this temporizing kind: on the contrary, every one of these whom I incessantly solicited in your behalf, are my old friends. In this number we are principally obliged to Pansa; who, as he has the greatest credit and influence with Cæsar, so he shewed himself extremely zealous for your interest, and very desirous likewise of obliging me. I must mention Tullius Cimber^a also, as one with whose good offices,

^a This person, though greatly in favour with Cæsar, was afterwards one of the principal conspirators against him.—It was he that gave the signal to the rest of his associates, when they assassinated Cæsar in the senate; and Cimber held him by the gown, while Cassius gave him the first stab. *Suet. in Jul.* 82.

fices, upon this occasion, I have great reason to be satisfied. He employed them more successfully upon your account, than he possibly could in favour of any other man; for it is not interested solicitations so much as those which proceed entirely from friendship and gratitude, that prevail with Cæsar. Your warrant, however, is not yet actually signed: for there are certain malevolent spirits (who affect to talk as if they were not secretly pleased that this civil war broke out, and who represent you as the principal fomenter of it,) that would be exceedingly offended if they knew you had obtained your pardon. It was thought advisable, therefore, to manage this affair with great caution and secrecy; nor by any means, at present, to suffer our success to be publicly known. It soon, however, will; and I doubt not that every thing will be ripe for that purpose, before this letter shall reach your hands: for Pansa, whose word may be depended upon, has promised me, in the strongest terms, that he will in a very few days procure your warrant. In the meantime, I thought proper to send you this previous account of the prosperous state of your affairs. For I find, by talking with your wife Epulia, and by the tender tears of your daughter Ampia, that you are more dispirited than

A a 3

your

your letters intimate ; and they are apprehensive that your uneasiness will be increased by their absence, In order, therefore, to compose this anxiety of your mind, I thought it incumbent on me thus to anticipate a piece of good news, which most assuredly will be verified. You are sensible that in my former letters I have rather employed such arguments of consolation as were proper to affect a man of your philosophical magnanimity, than encouraged you to entertain any other certain hopes than those of being restored with the republic, when these flames should subside. And here let me remind you of your letters to me, in which you have always discovered the most heroic determination to meet with firmness and fortitude whatever it might be your fate to suffer. I was by no means surprised to find that you were animated with these manly sentiments, when I reflected that you had been conversant in the affairs of the world from your earliest youth ; that you had exercised some of the most important employments of the commonwealth, at a time when our lives and liberties were in the utmost danger ;
and

* Ampius was tribune in the consulate of Cicero, when the conspiracy of Catiline was discovered ; and was prætor in the year 695, when Clodius, who at the same time was tribune, raised so much disturbance by his seditious laws ; particularly by that which occasioned Cicero's banishment. *Pigh. Annal. ii. 363.*

and that you entered into the present war, not merely with the pleasing prospect of victory, but with a mind prepared to bear the reverse with a wise and philosophical resignation. In fine, as you are employed in recording the deeds of illustrious heroes', it particularly concerns you to copy out, in your own conduct, that magnanimity which you are celebrating in others. But this is talking in a style more suitable to your late circumstances than to your present. Let me only, then, exhort you to come prepared to endure those calamities which you must suffer here in common with every citizen of Rome: calamities, for which, if I had discovered any remedy, I should most certainly impart it to you. The only refuge from them is in those philosophical studies, in which we have both of us ever been conversant; and these, though in more prosperous days they were only our amusement, must now prove likewise our strongest support. But, to end as I began, let me desire you to be well persuaded that all things are completely settled concerning your full pardon and restoration. Farewel.

LETTER

^s This work seems to have been of the biographical kind, and to have included the life of Julius Cæsar; as Suetonius quotes a passage from it, concerning the conduct of that emperor. *Vid. Suet. in Jul. 77.*

LETTER XXIV.

[A. U. 707.]

To P. SERVILIUS ISAURICUS, Proconsul.

As the friendship that subsists between us, and the singular affection you bear me, are circumstances universally known: I find myself under a frequent necessity of applying to you in behalf of those who solicit my recommendations. But though I am a general well-wisher to all whom I thus introduce to your favour, yet I do not pretend to be equally interested in the success of every one of them. I am particularly so, however, in that of Titus Egnatius, as he was the generous companion of my exile, and shared with me in all the pains, the difficulties, and the dangers which I underwent, both by sea and land, during that most unfortunate period of my life. Nor would he, without my consent, have left me at this juncture. I recommend him to you, therefore, as one of my family for whom I have the greatest regard; and you will much oblige me by convincing him that this letter shall have proved greatly to his advantage. Farewel.

LETTER

LETTER XXV.

[A. U. 707.]

To CURIUS⁶,

THERE was a time when I thought you made a very injudicious choice, by preferring a foreign country to your own. I imagined that Rome (while yet, alas ! it was Rome) must be far more suitable, I will not only say than Patraë, but even than the noblest city in the Peloponnesus, to a man of your amiable and elegant turn of mind. But now, on the contrary, I look upon your having retired into Greece, when our affairs were well nigh desperate, as a strong proof of your great penetration ; and I consider your absence, not only as a very judicious, but a very happy resolution. Yet, why do I call it happy ? when it is impossible that happiness should be the portion of any man, in these wretched times, who possesses the least degree

⁶ He was one of the city quæstors in the year 691, and about five years afterwards, was elected into the post of tribune. It does not appear that he advanced any farther in the offices of the state. On the contrary, it seems probable that he turned his pursuits into an humbler channel, and engaged in some branch of commerce. It was for this purpose, perhaps, that about the time when the dissensions between Pompey and Cæsar broke out, he retired into Greece, and settled at Patraë. See let. 2. of the following book. *Pigh. Annal. ii. 334.*

degree of sensibility. However, that desirable privilege which you, who were at liberty to leave Italy, enjoy by travelling, I have procured by another method; and I can in some sort say, no less than yourself, that I live

*Where nor the name nor deeds accurs'd I hear
Of Pelops' impious race¹.*

For, as soon as my levee is over, (which is somewhat more frequented than formerly, a patriot being now looked upon as a sight, of all others, the most uncommon²) I shut myself up in my library. And it is there, my friend, that I am employed in compositions which you will find, perhaps, to be animated with all that spirit you once said so ill agreed with my dejection and despair, when you reproached me, at your house, for not acting up to the fortitude that

¹ The sons of Pelops were Atreus and Thyestes, whose impious and cruel acts are recorded in fabulous history. The dramatic poet, Attius, wrote a tragedy entitled Atreus, from which play, it is probable, this line was quoted, and which Cicero seems to apply to the violences committed by some of the leading men in the successful party. That Cicero, however, by no means lived the recluse he here represents himself, has already appeared by several letters in the present and preceding book, by which it is evident that he mixed, with great freedom and gaiety, among the chiefs of the victorious faction.

² A true patriot was a sight in all ages too uncommon, it must be owned, not to have been worth remarking; but, whether those who visited Cicero, in order to view so singular a curiosity, were disappointed or not, is a question which every reader, by this time, perhaps, may be able very clearly to determine.

that appeared in my writings. I must confess, I could not at that time forbear lamenting the wretched fate of the republic; to which I was the more tenderly attached, as I had not only been distinguished with its honours, but had greatly assisted it by my services. And even now, that time (which wears out the sorrows of the weakest minds) together with reason, (which ought to have the strongest influence for that purpose) have jointly contributed to compose my breast; yet I still lament to see the commonwealth thus fallen, without a hope of ever rising more! There is nothing, however, that can at present be justly imputed to Him, in whom all power is now vested; unless, perhaps, it be that he has more than he ought. And as to what is past, our fate and our follies have had so large a share in all that has happened, that we cannot complain with a good grace. As little reason is there to hope that affairs will mend. I cannot, therefore, but conclude my letter as I began it, with admiring your judgment if it were choice, or your fortune if it were chance, that led you from this displeasing scene. Farewel.

LETTER

LETTER XXVI.

[A. U. 707.]

TO LIGARIUS.

BE assured that I am exerting my utmost efforts of every kind in order to procure your restoration. In truth, the singular and pious affection of your brothers, for whom I bear the same warm friendship that I entertain for yourself, will not suffer me to neglect any opportunity of employing my best offices in your behalf. But I had rather you should learn from their letters than from mine, what I have already performed, and what I am still endeavouring to perform, in your affairs. I will only, therefore, acquaint you myself with the strong and well-grounded hopes I have conceived, that your restoration will soon be effected. Let me previously observe, that my fears in all doubtful cases of importance, are ever apt to be much superior to my hopes; a fault, if it be a fault, which I am very ready to acknowledge. Nevertheless, the last time I waited upon Cæsar, I came away with a full persuasion, that there was not the least reason to doubt of his granting you a pardon. I attended him for this purpose, at the request of your brothers, on the 26th of November last, in the morning

morning, not without encountering all the usual difficulties and indignities, before I could gain admittance. Your brothers, and the rest of your relations, having thrown themselves at his feet, I supported their petition with such arguments as I thought suitable to the occasion⁹. And I could plainly

⁹ Cicero had, shortly afterwards, a more public occasion of testifying his zeal for his friend. For Tubero, though he had himself engaged in the same party with Ligarius, having from private pique opposed the recal of Ligarius, Cicero defended him before Cæsar in the forum, in a noble oration, which is still extant. It was upon this occasion, that the pomp and energy of the Roman orator's rhetoric is said to have had such a wonderful effect, that it not only made Cæsar tremble, but what is yet more extraordinary, it made him change his determined purpose, and acquit the man he had resolved to condemn. This story has often been alledged in proof of the power of ancient eloquence; and the translator confesses, that he has himself, in the letters published under the name of Sir Thomas Fitzosborn, produced it for that purpose. But, upon a stricter enquiry, the supposed fact seems to be extremely questionable. For, in the first place, there is not the least trace of it in any part of Cicero's writings. Now this his total silence seems to furnish a very strong presumptive argument, to destroy the credit of the story; for it is altogether improbable, that a man of Cicero's character should have omitted any opportunity of displaying a circumstance so exceedingly to the honour of his oratorical powers. In the next place, it is very observable, that Valerius Maximus, who has a chapter expressly to shew the force of eloquence, and who mentions a particular instance of this kind with regard to Cæsar himself, yet takes not the least notice of the fact in question. But if it had been true, is it credible either that it should never have reached his knowledge, or that, knowing it, he should have passed it over in silence? especially as it afforded him a much stronger instance for his purpose, than any he has thought proper to enumerate. It is remarkable, likewise, than Quinsillian, though he frequently cites the very passage in this celebrated

plainly perceive, not only by the gracious answer which Cæsar returned, but by the whole air of his countenance, together with several other little circumstances, much easier to remark than describe, that he was extremely well inclined in your favour¹. Preserve then, my friend, a firm and vigorous frame of mind; and, if you bore the dark and tempestuous season of your affairs with fortitude, let their present

celebrated oration, which is supposed to have raised the strongest emotions in Cæsar's breast; yet gives not the least intimation of the effect which it is pretended to have wrought. Plutarch is the only ancient writer who relates this story, and he introduces it with a λέγεται δέ, an expression which seems to imply, that he did not copy it from any earlier historian, but received it only from common tradition. Now it might be sufficient to give rise to such a report, if Cæsar had been seized during the course of this trial with one of his usual epileptic fits, which were attended with that change of colour and trembling of the nerves, that Plutarch ascribes to the force of Cicero's rhetoric. And that this is all that there was of truth in the case, is rendered probable by the testimony of Suetonius, who informs us, that Cæsar was twice seized with these fits, when he was engaged in judicial affairs. *Val. Max.* viii. 9. *Quint. Instit. Orat.* viii. 4. 6. ix. 2. *Plut. in vit. Cicer.* *Suet. in Jul.* 45.

¹ Cicero's presages in the present instance, appear to have been well grounded; for Ligarius, shortly afterwards, obtained Cæsar's permission to return to Rome. Ligarius, nevertheless, entered into the conspiracy against him, and history has recorded the very spirited answer which Ligarius made to Brutus, when that illustrious Roman paid him a visit, in order to invite him into a participation of his scheme. Brutus, finding him sick in bed, began to lament that he should be confined at so critical a conjuncture; upon which, Ligarius, raising himself on his arm, and taking Brutus by the hand, "Oh my friend," said he, "if you are meditating any enterprise worthy of yourself, I am well." *Plut. in vit. Brut.*

present more serene and favourable aspect fill your heart with cheerfulness. As for myself, I shall continue to act with as much assiduity in your cause, as if there were still many obstacles to surmount. To this end, I shall very zealously persevere in my applications, not only to Cæsar, but to all those who are most in his favour; every one of whom I have experienced to be much my friend. Farewel.

LETTER XXVII.

[A. U. 707.]

TO P. SERVILIUS ISAURICUS, Proconsul.

I took occasion, when we were walking in your gardens, to recommend to you, with all possible earnestness, the Asiatic affairs of my friend Cerellia*. And, agreeably to your usual disposition, and to those many great and good offices I have perpetually received at your hands, you very generously assured me of your utmost assistance.

* This lady was not only a particular friend of Cicero, but a great reader and admirer of his moral writings. But neither her philosophy nor her age, though she was ten years older than Cicero, could secure her character from censure; and slander has said, that her intercourse with our author did not always turn upon matters of speculation. But, if the reader has the curiosity to see this charge entirely overthrown, he will find a very satisfactory confutation of it in Monsieur Mongault's fourth remark on the 51st letter of the 12th book to Atticus.

assistance. This circumstance, I persuade myself, you have not forgotten; I am sure, at least, it is not customary with you to be unmindful of my requests. However, the agents of this lady inform her, in their letters, that the numerous occupations in which so extensive a province engages you, render it necessary that you should be reminded, from time to time, of your promise. I entreat you, therefore, to recollect that you gave me full assurances of employing your good offices in favour of Cerellia, so far as should be consistent with your honour; and I think your powers for this purpose are very extensive. For, if I mistake not, the decree of the senate, which passed in relation to the heirs of Vannonius, is expressed in such terms as to admit of an interpretation extremely advantageous to Cerellia's interest. But this must be submitted entirely to your own judgment; which, I doubt not, will construe this decree in the sense in which it was intended by the senate, as I know the respect you always bear for the resolutions of that assembly. I will only add, therefore, that I desire you would believe, that every instance in which you shall favour Cerellia, will be a singular obligation conferred upon myself. Farewel.

LETTER

LETTER XXVIII.

[A. U. 707.]

TO AULUS CÆCINA³.

I WAS informed, by your zealous friend Lærgus, that the time limited for your continuance in Sicily, expires on the first of January next. Having, therefore, upon all occasions, observed that Cæsar ratifies whatever Balbus and Oppius act in his absence⁴, I very strenuously solicited them that you might be permitted to remain in that island as long as you should think proper. In all my applications of this kind, they have either instantly complied with my desire, if it happened not to be particularly disagreeable to them, or have assigned their reasons for refusing: but, in the present instance, they did

³ Aulus Cæcina was a person of great and amiable virtues in private life: and he was distinguished, likewise, in public for his genius, his eloquence, and his erudition. He seems to have particularly excelled in the science of divination: upon which subject he wrote a treatise, which is often cited by Seneca. In the civil wars, he not only drew his sword, but his pen against Cæsar: having published an invective upon that general, which appears to have extremely offended him. Cæcina was accordingly banished: and the present and following letters to him, were written during his exile in Sicily. *Cic. Orat. pro Cæcin.* 35, 36. *Senec. Natûral. Quest.* ii. *passim.*

⁴ Cæsar was, at this time, in Spain, pursuing the war against the sons of Pompey: whilst Oppius and Balbus were acting as his vicegerents at Rome.

did not give me an immediate answer. However, they called upon me again the very same day, in order to acquaint me, that, in consequence of my request, you were at liberty to continue in Sicily during your own inclination: and they would be answerable, they said, that Cæsar would not be displeased. Thus you see how far your licence extends: and I need not tell you what use it would be most adviseable for you to make of it.

After I had written thus far, your letter was given into my hands, wherein you desire my opinion, whether you should remain in Sicily, or go into Asia in order to settle your affairs in that province. I do not well know how to reconcile this question to the account which I mentioned above to have received from Largus. For he talked to me as if you were not at liberty to reside any longer in Sicily: whereas, your query seems to imply the contrary. Be this as it may, my sentiments are, that you should, by all means, continue in that island. The nearness of its situation renders it extremely convenient for the more expeditiously receiving and returning letters and expresses during the negociation of your pardon: as you will be so much the earlier, likewise, amongst us, if you should, as I hope, obtain leave to return

turn to Rome, or at least, into Italy. For these reasons, therefore, I am altogether against your removing from your present quarters.

I shall not fail to recommend you, in the strongest terms, to Furfanius Posthumus and his lieutenants, when they arrive here: but, at present, they are all at Mutina. They are every one of them my friends: and not only persons of singular merit, but great admirers of men of your character. You may, without any particular application to me, depend upon my best assistance in every other article, wherein I imagine my services can avail you. And should there be any of which I may be ignorant, if you will point them out to me, you will find that you could not have employed any other of your friends who would have acted in your affairs with so warm a zeal.

Though I shall speak so effectually to Furfanius that there will be no necessity for your delivering a letter to him on my part; yet, as some of your family were desirous you should have one, I could not refuse their request: and I have added, at the bottom of this, a copy of my letter. Farewel.

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LETTER

LETTER XXIX.

[A. U. 707.]

TO TITUS FURFANIUS⁶, Proconsul.

IT is impossible to be more intimately united with any man, than I have ever been with Aulus Cæcina. I lived in great familiarity with his illustrious father: and the early presages I observed in the son, of the most exalted probity and eloquence, won my affections to him from his youth. We were attached to each other, not only by the mutual exchange of many friendly offices, but by the same common tastes and studies: insomuch, that there is no man for whom I ever entertained a more tender regard. After this, I need only add, that I am under the strongest obligations, as you see, to protect both his person and his fortunes, to the utmost of my power. As I know, by many instances, the sentiments you entertain both of the calamities of the republic, and of those who suffer for its sake, I am sure your own inclinations will lead you to assist Cæcina. I will only entreat you, therefore, to suffer my recommendation to increase that favourable disposition,

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⁶ He was appointed by Cæsar proconsul of Sicily for the following year: in which post he is said to have conducted himself with great clemency and moderation. *Quartier*.

in proportion to the esteem which I am sensible you bear me. And be well persuaded, that you cannot give me a more sensible proof of your friendship. Farewel.

LETTER XXX.

[A. U. 707.]

AULUS CÆCINA TO CICERO.

I HOPE you will not only pardon the fears, but pity the misfortunes, which prevented your receiving my performance so soon as I intended: but my son was apprehensive, I hear, that the publication of this piece might prove to my prejudice. And, indeed, as the effect of compositions of this kind depends more upon the temper in which they are read, than on that in which they are written, his fears were by no means irrational: especially as I am still a sufferer for the liberties of my pen. In this respect, my fate, surely, is somewhat singular. For the errors of an author are generally either reformed by a blot, or punished by the loss of his fame: whereas banishment, on the contrary, has been thought the more proper method of correcting mine. And yet the whole of my crime amounts only to this; that I poured forth my invectives against the man with whom I was openly at war. Now, there was not a single person, I suppose, in the same party with

B b 3

myself,

myself, who was not in effect, guilty of the same offence: as there was not one who did not send up his vows for success to our cause, or that offered a sacrifice, though upon an occasion ever so foreign to public affairs, without imploring the Gods that Cæsar might soon be defeated. If he imagines otherwise, he is extremely happy in his ignorance. But if he knows this to be fact, why am I marked out as the particular object of his wrath, for having written something which he did not approve; whilst he forgives every one of those, who were perpetually invoking Heaven for his perdition!

But I was going to acquaint you with the reason of those fears, which I mentioned in the beginning of my letter. In the first place then, I have taken notice of you in the piece in question: though, at the same time, I have touched upon your conduct with great caution and reserve. Not that I have, by any means, changed my sentiments concerning it; but, as being afraid to say all that they dictated to me. Now, it is well known, that in compositions of the panegyrical kind, an author should not only deliver his applauses with a full and unlimited freedom, but heighten them, likewise, with a suitable strength and warmth of expression. In satire, indeed, though great liberties are generally thought allowable, yet, a writer must always be upon

upon his guard, lest he degenerates into petulance and scurrility. An author is still more restrained in speaking advantageously of himself: as without much care and circumspection he will appear arrogant and conceited. Of all subjects, therefore, of a *personal* nature, it is panegyric alone, wherein a writer may expatiate uncontrolled: as he cannot be sparing in the encomiums he bestows upon another, without incurring the imputation of envy or inability. But, in the present instance, you will think yourself, perhaps, obliged to me. For as I was not at liberty to represent your actions in the manner they deserve, the next favour to being totally silent concerning them, was to mention them as little as possible. But difficult as it was to contain myself upon so copious a subject, I however forbore: and, as there were various parts of your conduct I did not venture even to touch upon; so, in the revisal of my work, I not only found it necessary to strike out several circumstances I had inserted, but to place many of those which I suffered to remain in a less advantageous point of view. But should an architect, in raising a flight of steps, omit some, cut away part of those he had fixed, and leave many of the rest loose and ill joined together, might he not more properly be said to erect a ruin, than an easy and regular ascent? In the

same manner, where an author is constrained by a thousand unhappy circumstances, to break the just coherence of his piece, and destroy its proper gradation, how can he hope to produce any thing that shall merit the applause of a refined and judicious ear? But I was still more embarrassed, where my subject led me to speak of Cæsar: and I will own that I trembled whenever I had occasion to mention his name. My fears, however, did not arise from any apprehension* that what I wrote might draw upon me his farther chastisement; but lest it should not be agreeable to his particular sentiments, with which, indeed, I am by no means well acquainted. But with what spirit can a man compose when he is obliged to ask himself, at every sentence, "Will Cæsar approve of this?" "May not this expression appear of suspicious import? Or will he not think it still worse if I change it thus?" But, besides these difficulties, I was perplexed, likewise, in regard to the applauses and censures which I dealt out to others: as I was afraid I might apply them where they would not, perhaps, be very agreeable to Cæsar, though they might not actually give him offence. I reflected, that if his vengeance pursued me for what I wrote, whilst I had my sword in my hand; what might be the consequence, should I displease him now
that

that I am a disarmed exile? These fears increased upon me, when I considered the cautious manner in which you thought it necessary to deliver your sentiments in your treatise entitled the *Orator*: where you modestly apologise for venturing to publish your notions upon the subject, by ascribing it to the request of Brutus. But if you, whose eloquence has rendered you the general patron of every Roman, deemed it expedient to be thus artfully guarded, how much more requisite is it for your old client, who is now reduced to implore that protection from every citizen in general, which he once received from yourself in particular? An author, who writes under the constraint of so many doubts and fears, though fears, perhaps, that are altogether groundless; who is forced to adjust almost every sentence, not to his own judgment, but to the impression it may, probably, make upon others; will find it extremely difficult to execute any composition with success. And though this is a difficulty which you have never, it is possible, experienced; as your exalted genius is equal to every undertaking; yet I am sure I experienced it very sensibly myself. Nevertheless, I ordered my son to read my performance to you; but not to leave it in your hands, unless you would promise to correct it;

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that

that is, unless you would new model it in all its parts.

As to my Asiatic expedition ; notwithstanding my affairs require my presence in that province ; yet, in obedience to your advice, I have laid aside my intended voyage. And now, as you are sensible that my fate must necessarily, one way or other, be soon determined ; I need not, I am persuaded, particularly exhort you to assist me with your good offices. Let me only entreat you, my dear Cicero, not to defer them in expectation of my son's arrival. For his youth, his tenderness, and his fears, render him ill able to think of every measure which may be proper to be taken for my advantage. The whole management, therefore, of my cause, must rest entirely upon you, as it is upon you, in truth, that all my hopes depend. Your judicious observation has enabled you to penetrate into the recesses of Cæsar's heart ; and you are acquainted with all the most probable methods of prevailing with him : so that each successful step that shall be made in this affair, from its commencement to its conclusion, must proceed altogether from you. I am sensible, likewise, that you have great interest with Cæsar, and still greater with all his favourites. I doubt not, then, of your effecting my restoration, if you will exert yourself for that purpose

pose, not only in such instances wherein I shall particularly request your assistance, (though that, indeed, would be a very considerable obligation) but by taking the whole conduct of this matter into your own hands. Perhaps my judgment is blinded by my misfortunes, or I expect more from your friendship than in modesty I ought, when I venture thus to impose upon you so heavy a burthen. But whichever may be the case, your general conduct towards your friends will furnish me with an excuse: for the zeal which you exert, upon all occasions, where their interest is concerned, has taught them, not only to expect, but even to claim your services.

With regard to the book which my son will deliver to you; I entreat you either not to suffer it to be published, or to correct it in such a manner, that it may not appear to my disadvantage. Farewel.

LETTER XXXI.

[A. U. 707.]

TO P. SERVILIUS ISLAURICUS, Proconsul.

I NEED not inform you, that Curtius Mithres is the favourite freedman of my very intimate friend Postumus: but let me assure you, that he distinguishes me with the same marks of respect

respect which he pays to his patron himself. Whenever I was at Ephesus, I made use of his house as my own: and many incidents concurred, which afforded me full proofs both of his fidelity and his affection. For this reason, as often as either my friends or myself have any affairs to transact in Asia, I always apply to Mithres: and I command not only his services, but his purse and his house, with the same freedom that I should dispose of my own. I particularise these circumstances the more minutely, that you may see it is not upon common motives, or to gratify the purposes of any ambitious views, that I now apply to you: but on the contrary, that it is in favour of one with whom I am united by the strongest connexions. I entreat you then to do me the honour of assisting him with your good offices, not only in the law-suit wherein he is engaged with a certain citizen of Colophon^{*}, but in every other instance also, as far as shall be consistent with your own character and convenience. But though I make this exception, yet I am sure he has too much modesty to ask any thing improper of you. Indeed, it is his utmost wish, that his own merit, in conjunction with my recommendation, may procure him your esteem. I very earnestly, therefore, conjure you, not only

^{*} A city of Ionia, in Asia Minor: and one of those which claimed the honour of being the birth-place of Homer.

only to favour him with your protection, but to receive him into the number of your friends. In return, you may depend upon my most zealous services upon all occasions wherein I shall imagine either your interest or your inclination may require them. Farewel.

LETTER XXXII.

[A. U. 707.]

TO AULUS CÆCINA.

As often as I see your son (and I see him almost every day) I never fail to assure him of my zealous assistance, without any exception of time, of labour, or of business : and I promise him likewise my credit and interest, with this single limitation, that he may rely upon them as far as the small share I possess of either can possibly extend.

I have read your performance^a, and still continue to read it, with much attention : as I shall preserve it with the greatest fidelity. Your affairs, indeed, of every kind, are my principal concern : and I have the pleasure to see them every day appear with a more and more favourable aspect. You have many friends who contribute their good offices for this purpose : of whose zeal your son, I am assured, has already acquainted

^a See the 30th letter of this book.

acquainted you, as well as of his own hopes that their endeavours will prove effectual. In regard to what may be collected from appearances, I do not pretend to discern more, than, I am persuaded, you see yourself: but as you may reflect upon them, perhaps, with greater discomposure of mind, I think it proper to give you my sentiments concerning them. Believe me then, it is impossible, from the nature and circumstances of public affairs, that either you, or your companions in adversity, should long remain under your present misfortunes: yes, my friend, it is impossible that so severe an injury should continue to oppress the honest advocates of so good a cause. But my hopes are particularly strong with respect to yourself: not merely in consideration of your rank and virtues, (for these you possess in common with many others) but particularly from your singular learning and genius. The man in whose power we all of us are, holds these shining qualities in much esteem: and I am well persuaded, you would not have remained, even a single moment, in your present situation, if he had not imagined himself wounded³ by those talents he admires. His resentment, however, seems daily cooling: and it has been intimated to me by some of his most particular friends, that

³ See rem. 3. on let. 28. of this book.

that you will undoubtedly find advantage in the high opinion he has conceived of your abilities. Let me conjure you then, in the first place, to preserve a firm and unshaken fortitude of mind, as what you owe to your birth, to your education, to your learning, and to that character you have universally obtained; and, in the next place, that, for the reasons I have already assigned, you would entertain the strongest and most favourable hopes. Be well persuaded, likewise, that I shall always most readily contribute my warmest services both to you and to your family. You have, indeed, a full right to expect them, from that affection which has so long subsisted between us; from the conduct I ever observe towards all my friends, and from the numberless good offices I have received at your hands. Farewel.

LETTER

LETTER XXXIII.

[A. U. 707.]

TO P. SERVILIUS ISAURICUS, Proconsul.

As the share you allow me in your friendship is by no means a secret to the world, it occasions great numbers to apply to me for recommendations. My letters to you, therefore, of this kind are sometimes, I confess, no other than the tributes of common compliment. They are much more frequently, however, the dictates of a real affection: as is the case, be assured, in the present instance, when I recommend to you Ampius Menander, the freedman of my friend Ampius Balbus. He is a very worthy, modest man, and highly in the esteem both of his patron and myself. You will much oblige me then by assisting him with your good offices, in every instance that shall not be inconvenient to you: and, believe me, it is with great earnestness that I make this request. Farewel.

LETTER

LETTER XXXIV.

[A. U. 707.]

TO AULUS CÆCINA.

I AM afraid you will think that I am a more negligent correspondent than I ought, considering the union between us as partisans of the same cause, as being joined in the same studies, and, as having mutually conferred upon each other, many obliging good offices. The sincere truth, however, is, that I should much sooner and much oftener have written to you, if I had not been in daily expectation of seeing your affairs in a better train : and I rather chose, instead of confirming you in the spirit with which you bear your misfortunes, to have sent you my congratulations on their being ended. I still hope to have that pleasure very shortly. In the mean time, I think it incumbent upon me to endeavour, if not with all the authority of a philosopher, at least with all the influence of a friend, to confirm and strengthen you in that manly spirit with which I hear, and believe, you are animated. For this purpose, I shall not address you as one whose misfortunes are without hope ; but as a person of whose restoration I have conceived the same well-grounded con-

VOL. II.

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fidence which you formerly, I remember, entertained of mine. For when I was driven from my country, by a set of men, who were convinced they could never effect their destructive purposes so long as I continued in the commonwealth, I was informed by many of my friends who visited me from Asia, where you then resided, that you strongly assured them of my speedy and honourable recal. Now, if the principles of the Etruscan science⁴, in which you were instructed by your illustrious and excellent father, did not deceive you with respect to me, neither will my presages be less infallible with regard to you. They are derived, indeed, not only from the maxims and records of the most distinguished sages, whose writings, you well know, I have studied with great application; but, from a long experience in public affairs, and from having passed through various scenes both of prosperity and adversity. I have the stronger rea-

son

* The Romans derived their doctrine and rites of divination, and probably, indeed, many other of their religious and civil institutions, from the Etruscans, a very ancient, learned, and powerful nation, who were once masters of almost all Italy, and who inhabited that part which is now called Tuscany. Cæcina, who was a native of this province, and well skilled in that pretended prophetic art for which his countrymen were particularly famous, foretold, it seems, that Cicero's banishment would soon end, (as in fact it did) in a glorious restoration. *Val. Max.* i. 1. *Liv.* v. 33. *Pigh. Annal.* i. p. 430. See rem. 3. p. 369. of this vol.

son to confide in this method of divination, as it has never once deceived me during all these dark and distracted times: insomuch, that were I to mention my predictions, I am afraid you would suspect that I framed them after the events I pretend to have foretold⁵. However, there are many who can bear me witness, that I forewarned Pompey against entering into any association with Cæsar⁶: and that I afterwards as strongly endeavoured to dissuade him from breaking that union. I clearly saw, indeed, that their conjunction would considerably impair the strength of the senate; and that their separation would as inevitably kindle the flames of a civil war. I lived at that time in great familiarity with Cæsar, as well as entertained the highest regard to Pompey; and, accordingly, the faithful advice I gave to the latter, was equally to the benefit of both. I forbear to instance several other articles, in which my prophetic admonitions have been verified.

For

⁵ Cicero's wonderful reach of judgment in penetrating far into the consequences of events, is by no means exaggerated in the present passage. On the contrary, it is confirmed by the testimony of an historian who knew him well; and who assures us, that Cicero pointed out, with a prophetic discernment, several circumstances that were fulfilled not only in his own life-time, but after his death. *Corn. Nepos. in vit. Attic.* 17.

⁶ The motives which induced Pompey to enter into this union with Cæsar, have been already explained in rem. 8. p. 114. vol. i.

For, as I have received great obligations from Cæsar, I am unwilling he should know, that had Pompey followed my counsels, though Cæsar would still have been the first and most distinguished person in the republic, he would not have been in possession of that extensive power he now enjoys. I will confess, however, that I always gave it as my opinion, that Pompey should go to his government in Spain: with which, if he had happily complied, we should never have been involved in this fatal civil war⁷. I contended, likewise, not so much that Cæsar should be received as a candidate for the consulship during his absence⁸; as that the law
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⁷ Pompey, instead of going to his government of Spain, continued in Italy, with the command of two legions which were quartered near Rome. This gave umbrage to Cæsar, who suspected, as the truth was, that these troops were designed to act against him. In order, therefore, to remove his apprehensions of this kind, it was proposed by Cicero, and some others of the more moderate party, that Pompey should retire to his government. But this motion was over-ruled by the consul Lentulus: who prevailed with the senate to pass a decree, whereby Cæsar, who had already crossed the Rubicon, was commanded to withdraw his forces out of Italy by a certain day therein named: and in case of disobedience, that he should be considered as a public enemy. *Hist. de Bel. Gal.* viii. 55. *Cæs. Bel. Civil.* i. 2.

⁸ Pompey, when he was consul the third time, in the year 701, procured a law empowering Cæsar to offer himself as a candidate for the consulship, without appearing personally at Rome for that purpose. This was contrary to the fundamental principles of the Roman constitution, and proved, in the event, the occasion of its being utterly destroyed: as it furnished Cæsar with the only specious pretence for turning
his

which the people enacted for that purpose, and enacted too at the earnest solicitation of Pompey in his consulate, should be religiously observed⁹. It was the rejecting of this advice, that gave occasion to the civil war: which I still laboured to extinguish by every method of remonstrance in my power, and by warmly representing, that in contests of this kind, though ever so justly founded, even the most disadvantageous terms of accommodation were preferable to having recourse to arms. But my sentiments

his arms against the republic. Cicero affirms, in one of his Philippics, that he endeavoured to dissuade Pompey from suffering this law to pass: *Duo—tempora inciderunt*, says he, *quibus aliquid contra Cæsarem Pompeio suaserim—Unum, ne, &c. alterum, ne pateretur ferri ut absentis ejus ratio haberetur. Quorum si utrumvis persuasissem, in has miseria nunquam incidissemus. Philip. ii. 10.* But if what Cicero here asserts be true, he acted a most extraordinary part indeed. For, at the same time, that he laboured to dissuade Pompey from suffering this law to pass, he persuaded Cælius, who was one of the tribunes of the people, to promote it, or at least not to oppose it: agreeably to a promise which he had given to Cæsar for that purpose. This appears by a passage in one of his letters to Atticus, where, speaking of Cæsar's claim to sue for the consulate, without personally attending at Rome, he tells Atticus, *Ut illi hoc liceret, adjuvi: rogatus ab ipso Ravennæ de Cælio tribuno plebis. Ad Att. vii. 1.*

⁹ Whether this law should, or should not, be superseded, was a question upon which Cicero found the republic divided at his return from Cilicia, just before the civil war broke out. And although he certainly acted an unjustifiable part in promoting this law; yet, after it had once passed, it seems to have been right policy in him to advise that it should be observed; as it was the only probable means of preserving the public tranquillity.

timents were over-ruled : not so much by Pompey himself, (upon whom they seemed to make some impression) as by those who, depending upon his victory, thought it would afford them a very favourable opportunity of extricating themselves from the difficulties of their private affairs, and of gratifying their immoderate ambition. The war, therefore, commenced without my participation : and I still continued in Italy as long as I possibly could, even after Pompey was driven out of it¹⁰. My honour, however, at length prevailed over my fears : and I could not support the thoughts of deserting Pompey in *his* distress, who had not abandoned me in *mine*. Partly, therefore, upon a principle of duty ; partly in tenderness to my reputation with the patriots ; and partly as being ashamed to forsake my friend, I went, as is fabled of Amphiaraus¹¹, to that ruin which I clearly foresaw. And, indeed, there was not a single misfortune attended us during that whole campaign, which I did not point out before it arrived. You see, therefore, that I have the same right of being credited, which augurs and astrologers

¹⁰ See rem. 4. p. 141. of this vol.

¹¹ Amphiaraus was a Grecian prophet, as the poets feign, who, foreknowing that he should be killed, if he went to the Theban war, concealed himself, in order to avoid that expedition. But his wife being bribed to disclose the place of his concealment, he was forced to the war, and his death confirmed the truth of his prediction. *Manutius*.

astrologers are wont to urge: and may claim your belief of my present predictions, in consequence of the veracity of my former. But I do not found these my prophecies in your favour on those intimations of futurity, which are taught by our augural science. I derive them from observations of a different sort; which, though not more certain in themselves, are less obscure, however, and consequently less liable to be misinterpreted. The signs, then, from whence I draw my presages, are of two kinds: the one taken from Cæsar himself, the other from the nature and circumstances of public affairs. With respect to the former, they result, in the first place, from that general clemency of Cæsar's disposition, which you have celebrated in that ingenious performance entitled your *Complaints*¹²: and, in the next place, from that extraordinary regard he discovers for men of your distinguished genius and abilities. To this I must add, that he will certainly yield to those numberless solicitations in your favour, which proceed, not from any interested motives, but from a real and just esteem: among which the unanimous application of Etruria¹³ will, undoubtedly, have great weight with him. If you ask,

¹² This seems to be the performance, concerning which Cæcina writes to Cicero in the 30th letter of this book.

¹³ Cæcina was a native of Etruria, and a person of great consideration in that part of Italy.

ask, whence it has happened that these considerations have hitherto proved ineffectual? I answer, that Cæsar thinks if he should immediately grant a pardon to you, against whom he may seem to have a more reasonable ground of complaint, he could not refuse it to others, whom he is less inclined to forgive. But you will say, perhaps, "If Cæsar is thus incensed, what have I to hope?" Undoubtedly, my friend, you have much; as he is sensible he must derive the brightest splendour of his fame, from the hand which once somewhat sullied its lustre. In fine, Cæsar is endowed with a most acute and penetrating judgment: and, as he perfectly well knows, not only the high rank you bear in a very considerable district of Italy¹⁴, but that there is no man in the commonwealth, of your age, who is superior to you in reputation, abilities, or popularity; he cannot but be convinced, that it will be impossible for him to render your exile of any long duration. He is too politic, therefore, to lose the merit of voluntarily conferring upon you at present, what will otherwise most unquestionably be extorted from him hereafter.

Having thus marked out the favourable prognostics which I collect from circumstances respecting Cæsar, I will now acquaint you with those which I gather from the temper and complexion

¹⁴ Etruria.

plexion of the times. There is no man, then, so averse to that cause which Pompey espoused with more spirit, indeed, than preparation, as to venture to arraign the principles or the patriotism of those who joined in his party. And I cannot but observe to you, that I have often occasion to admire the justice and judgment of Cæsar, who never speaks of Pompey but in terms of the highest honour. Should it be said, that whatever regard he may shew to his memory, he treated his person, upon many occasions, with great asperity: let it be remembered that these instances cannot reasonably be imputed to Cæsar, but were the natural consequences of war. But how favourably has he received many of us, and myself in particular, who were engaged in the same party? Has he not appointed Cassius to be his lieutenant? has he not given the government of Gaul to Brutus? and that of Greece to Sulpicius? In a word, highly incensed as he was against Marcellus, has he not, in the most honourable manner, restored him to his friends and to his country? What I would infer, therefore, from the whole, is this, that whatever system of government may prevail, good policy will never permit, in the first place, that a difference should be made among those who were equally involved in the same cause; and in the next, that
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a set of honest and worthy citizens, who are free from all imputation on their moral characters, should be banished from their country, at the same time that such numbers of those who have been exiled for the most infamous crimes, are suffered to return.

These are the presages of your friend : and they are presages, of which, if I had the least doubt, I would by no means have laid them before you. On the contrary, I should, in that case, rather have employed such consolatory arguments, as would unquestionably, have proved effectual for the support of a great and generous mind. I should have told you, that if you were induced to take up arms in defence of the republic (as you then imagined) merely from a confidence of success, small, indeed, would be your merit : and that if, under a full conviction of the very precarious event of war, you thought it possible that we might be defeated, it would be strange that you should have so much depended upon victory, as to be utterly unprepared for the reverse. I should have reasoned with you on the consolation you ought to receive, from reflecting on the integrity of your conduct : and reminded you of the satisfaction which the liberal arts will afford in the adverse seasons of life. I should have produced examples, not only from history, but
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in the persons of our leaders and associates in this unhappy war, of those who have suffered the most severe calamities : and should have also cited several illustrious instances of the same sort from foreign story. For to reflect on the misfortunes to which mankind in general are exposed, greatly contributes to alleviate the weight of those, which we ourselves endure. In short, I should have described the confusion of that turbulent scene, in which we are here engaged : as, undoubtedly, the being driven from a commonwealth in ruins, is much less to be regretted than from one in a flourishing and a happy situation. But these are arguments which I have by no means any occasion to urge : as I hope, or rather, indeed, as I clearly foresee, that we shall soon welcome your return amongst us. In the mean while, agreeably to the assurances I have often given you, I shall continue to exert my most active offices in the service of yourself, and your excellent son : who, I must observe with pleasure, is the very express resemblance of his father, both in person and genius. I shall now, indeed, be enabled to employ my zeal more effectually than heretofore, as I make great and daily advances in Cæsar's friendship ; not to mention my interest also with his favourites, who distinguish me with the first rank in their affection. Be assured

assured I shall devote the whole of my influence both with Cæsar and with his friends, entirely to your service. In the mean time, let the pleasing hopes you have so much reason to entertain, together with your own philosophical fortitude, support you with cheerfulness under your present situation. Farewel.

LETTER XXXV.

[A. U. 707.]

To P. SERVILIUS ISAVRICUS', Proprætor.

I PERFECTLY well know the general compassion of your heart for the unfortunate, and the inviolable fidelity you observe towards those who have any particular claim to your protection. As Cæcina, therefore, is a family-client of yours, I should not recommend him to your favour, if the regard I pay to the memory of his father, with whom I lived in the strictest intimacy, and the unhappy fate which attends himself, with whom I am united by every tie of friendship and gratitude, did not affect me in the manner it ought. I am sensible that your own natural disposition, without any solicitations, would incline you to assist a man of Cæcina's

¹ It appears by this letter, which is a recommendation of Cæcina to the governor of Asia, that he had resumed the design of going into that province: which, in the 30th epistle of this book, he tells Cicero he had laid aside in pursuance of his advice.

cina's merit, in distress: but I earnestly entreat you that this letter may render you still more zealous to confer upon him every good office in your power. I am persuaded, if you had been in Rome, you would effectually have employed it also in procuring his pardon: which in confidence of your colleague's² clemency, we still strongly hope to obtain³. In the mean time, Cæcina has retreated into your province, not only as thinking it will afford him the securest refuge, but in pursuit, likewise, of that justice which he expects from the equity of your administration. I most warmly request you, therefore, to assist him in recovering those debts which remain due to him upon his former negotiations⁴: and in every other article to favour him with your patronage and protection: than which you cannot confer upon me, be assured, a more acceptable obligation. Farewel.

LETTER

² Servilius was colleague with Cæsar in his second consulate, A. U. 705.

³ Accordingly Cæcina, some time afterwards, received his pardon from Cæsar: which Suetonius mentions as an instance, amongst others, of that conqueror's singular clemency. *Suet. in vit. Jul.* 75.

⁴ Cæcina had, probably, been concerned in farming some branch of the Asiatic revenue.

LETTER XXXVI.

[A. U. 707.]

TO PUBLIUS SULPICIUS¹.

NOTWITHSTANDING it is very seldom, in the present situation of public affairs, that I attend the senate; yet, after having received your letter, I thought it would not be acting agreeably to our long friendship, and to those many good offices that have passed between us, if I did not contribute all in my power to the advancement of your honours. It was with much pleasure, therefore, I went to the house, and voted for your public thanksgiving: which has been decreed accordingly. You will always find me equally zealous in whatever concerns your interest or your glory: and I should be glad you would, in your letters to your family, assure them of this my disposition towards you; that they

¹ It is altogether uncertain who this Sulpicius was: perhaps the same who commanded a squadron of Cæsar's fleet off the island of Sicily, which engaged with and defeated the fleet under the command of Cassius, about the time that Cæsar gained the battle of Pharsalia. But whoever he was, he appears, from the present letter, to have been governor of Illyricum, and to have lately had the honour of a public thanksgiving decreed for some successes which his arms had obtained in that province. Some of the commentators are of opinion, that the superscription of this letter is a false reading; and that instead of *Sulpicius*, it should be *Vatinius*: but those who are inclined to see this notion very solidly confuted, are referred to the observations of Manutius upon this epistle. *Cæs. de Bell. Civ.* iii. 101. *Pigh Annal.* ii. 449.

they may not scruple to claim my best services, if, in any future instance, you should have occasion for them.

I very strongly recommend to you my old friend Bolanus, as a man of great spirit and probity; and adorned, likewise, with every amiable accomplishment. As you will extremely oblige me by letting him see that my recommendation proved of singular advantage to him, so you may depend upon finding him of a most grateful disposition, and one from whose friendship you will receive much satisfaction.

I have another favour likewise to ask: which, in confidence of our friendship, and of that disposition which you have ever shewn to serve me, I very earnestly request. My library-keeper, Dionysius, having stolen several books from that valuable collection which I entrusted to his care, has withdrawn himself into your province: as I am informed by my friend Bolanus, as well as by several others, who saw him at Narona². But as they credited the account he gave them of my having granted him his freedom, they had no suspicion of the true reason that carried him thither. I shall think myself inexpressibly indebted to you, therefore, if you will deliver him into my hands:

² In Liburnia, now called Croatia, which formed part of the province of Illyricum.

hands : for although the loss I have sustained is not very great, yet his dishonesty gives me much vexation. Bolanus will inform you in what part of your province he is now concealed, and what measures will be proper in order to secure him. In the mean time let me repeat it again, that I shall look upon myself as highly indebted to you, if I should recover this fellow by your assistance. Farewel.

LETTER XXXVII.

[A. U. 707.]

TO QUINTUS GALLIUS^a.

I FIND by your letter, as well as by one which I have received from Oppius, that you did not forget my recommendation^b; which, indeed, is nothing more than what I expected from your great affection towards me, and from the connexion that subsists between us. Nevertheless, I will again repeat my solicitations in favour of Oppius, who still continues in your province : and of Egnatius, who remains at Rome : and entreat you to take their joint affairs under your protection. My friendship with Egnatius is so great, that, were my own personal interest concerned in the present case, I could not be more anxious.

I must

^a See rem. a. p. 313. of this vol.^b See let. 9. of this book.

I most earnestly request you, therefore, to shew him, by your good offices, that I am not mistaken in the share which I persuade myself I enjoy in your affection; and be assured you cannot oblige me in a more acceptable manner.

Farewel.

LETTERS

VOL. II.

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LETTERS
OF
MARCUS TULLIUS CICERO

TO
SEVERAL OF HIS FRIENDS.

BOOK X.

LETTER I.

[A. U. 707.]

TO AULUS TORQUATUS^y.

ALTHOUGH every one is apt, in these times of universal confusion, to regret his particular lot as singularly unfortunate, and to prefer any situation to his own, yet undoubtedly a man of patriot-sentiments can no where, in the present conjuncture, be so unhappily placed as
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^y Cicero mentions him in other parts of his writings, as a man of singular merit; and one to whose generous offices he had been greatly indebted during the persecution he suffered from Clodius. In the year 701, Torquatus was advanced to the

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prætorship;

in Rome: 'Tis true, into whatever part of the world he might be cast, he must still retain the same bitter sensibility of that ruin in which both himself and his country are involved. Nevertheless, there is something in being a spectator of those miseries with which others are only acquainted by report, that extremely enhances one's grief; as it is impossible to divert our thoughts from misfortunes, which are perpetually obtruding themselves in view. Among the many other losses, therefore, which must necessarily sit heavy upon your heart, let it not be your principal concern, (as I am informed it is) that you are driven from Rome. For, notwithstanding that you are thus exceedingly uneasy at being separated from your family and fortunes, yet they still continue in their usual situations; which, as they could by no means be improved by your presence, so neither are they exposed to any particular danger. Whenever, therefore, your family are the subject of your thoughts, you should neither lament

prætorship; after which, nothing material occurs concerning him, till the present letter; by which, it appears, he was at this time in banishment at Athens, for having taken part with Pompey in the civil wars. He was of a very ancient and illustrious family; being descended from the brave Titus Manlius, who, in the year 394, obtained the name of *Torquatus*, from the *Torquis*, or collar, which he took from the neck of a gigantic Gaul, whom he slew in single combat. *Ad Att.* v. 1. *Cic. de Finib.* ii. 22. *Pigh. Annal.* ii. p. 411. *Liv.* vii. 10.

lament them as suffering any calamities peculiar to themselves, or consider it as a hardship that they are not exempted from those which are common to us all.

As to what concerns your own person, you ought not, my dear Torquatus, to indulge those gloomy reflections which either fear, or despair, may suggest. It is certain that He², from whom you have hitherto received a treatment unworthy of your illustrious character, has lately given very considerable marks of a more favourable disposition. It is equally certain, that while we are looking up to Cæsar for our preservation, he is far from being clear by what methods he may best secure his own. The event of every war is always precarious; but, with regard to the present³, as I well know that you yourself never imagined you had any thing to fear if the victory should turn on one side; so I am persuaded, should it fall on the other, you can only suffer in the general ruin. The single circumstance, then, that can give you much disquietude, is that which in some sort I look upon as a kind of consolation; I mean, that the danger to which you are exposed, is no other than what threatens the whole community. And this, it must be acknowledged,

² Cæsar.

³ The war in Spain between Cæsar and the sons of Pompey.

knowledge, is so extremely great, that whatever philosophers may pretend, I question whether any thing can effectually support us under it, except one consideration alone; a consideration which is always more or less efficacious, in proportion to the strength and firmness of a man's own mind. But, if to mean honestly, and to act rightly, be all that is necessary to constitute human happiness, it should seem a sort of impiety to call that man miserable who is conscious of having always regulated his conduct by the best intentions. It was not, I am persuaded, any private advantage which we promised ourselves from the success of our arms, that induced us lately to abandon our fortunes, our families, and our country⁴; it was the just sense of that sacred regard we owed both to the commonwealth and to our own characters. Nor when we acted thus, were we so absurdly sanguine as to flatter ourselves with the prospect of certain victory. If the event, then, has proved agreeable to what, upon our first entrance into the war, we were well aware it possibly might; we ought, by no means, surely, to be as much disappointed, as if the reverse of all that we expected had befallen us. Let us then, my friend, cherish those sentiments which true philosophy

⁴ Upon the first breaking out of the civil war, when Cicero and Torquatus left Italy, in order to join the army of Pompey in Greece.

philosophy prescribes, by esteeming it our only concern in this life to preserve our integrity; and so long as we are void of all just reproach, let us bear the various revolutions of human affairs with calmness and moderation. The sum of what I would say, in short, is this; that virtue seems sufficient for her own support, though all things else were utterly lost. Still, however, if any hopes should yet remain to the republic, you should by no means despair, whatever its future situation may be, of holding the rank in it you deserve.

And here, my friend, it occurs to me, that there was a time when you, likewise, used to condemn my despondency; and when I was full of apprehensions, and altogether undetermined how to act, you inspired me by your advice and example with more spirited and vigorous resolutions. At that season, it was not our cause, but our measures, I disapproved. I thought it much too late to oppose those victorious arms which we ourselves had long been contributing to strengthen; and I lamented that we should refer the decision of our political disputes, not to the weight of our counsels, but to the force of our swords. I do not pretend to have been inspired with a spirit of divination, when I foretold what has since happened, I only saw the possibility and destructive consequences of such an

event. And it was this that alarmed my fears; especially, as it was a contingency, of all others, the most likely to take effect. For the strength of our party, I well knew, was of a kind that would little avail us in the field; as our troops were far inferior both in force and experience, to those of our adversaries. The same spirit and resolution, then, which you recommended to me at that juncture, let me now exhort you, in my turn, to assume in the present.

I was induced to write to you upon this subject, by a conversation I lately had with your freedman, Philargyrus. In answer to the very particular inquiries I made concerning your welfare, he informed me (and I had no reason to suspect his veracity) that you were at some seasons exceedingly dejected. This is a state of mind you should by no means encourage. For if the republic should in any degree subsist, you have no reason to doubt of recovering the rank you deserve; and should it be destroyed, your particular condition will be no worse, at least, than that of every Roman in general. As to the important affair now depending^s, and for the event of which we are all of us in so much anxiety; this is a circumstance which you ought to bear with the greater tranquillity, as you are in a city where philosophy, that supreme guide and governess of human life, not only received her birth,

^s The war in Spain.

birth, but her best and noblest improvements⁶. But, besides this advantage, you enjoy the company likewise of Sulpicius⁷, that wise and favourite friend, from whose kind and prudent offices you must undoubtedly receive great consolation. And, had we all of us lately been so politic as to have followed his advice, we should have chosen rather to have submitted to the civil, than to the military power of Cæsar⁸.

But I have dwelt longer, perhaps, upon this subject than was necessary: I will dispatch, therefore, what is more material in fewer words. How much I owed to some of those friends, whom the fate of this cruel war has snatched from me, you perfectly well know; but I have now none remaining from whom I have received greater obligations than from yourself. I am sensible, at the same time, how little my
power

⁶ The Athenians (among whom Torquatus, as has been observed above, at this time resided) were supposed to have been the first who instructed mankind, not only in the refinements of poetry, oratory, and philosophy, but in manufactures, agriculture, and civil government. Athens, in short, was esteemed by the ancients to be the source, as it was unquestionably the seat, of all those useful or polite arts which most contribute to the ease and ornament of human life. *Justin.* ii. 6. *Lucret.* vi. 1. &c.

⁷ Sulpicius was at Athens, as governor of Greece. See rem. 1. p. 283. of this vol.

⁸ This alludes to the opposition which Sulpicius made to the proposal of recalling Cæsar from his government in Gaul, just before the commencement of the civil war. See rem. 2. p. 120. of this vol.

power can at present avail: but as no man can be so totally fallen, as not to be capable of effecting somewhat at least by his earnest endeavours, be assured that both you and yours have an unquestionable right to the best and most zealous of mine. Farewel.

LETTER II.

[A. U. 707.]

TO SERVIUS SULPICIUS.

MANIUS CURIUS², a merchant of Patræ, is a person whom I have many and great reasons to value. The friendship between us has long continued: so long, indeed, as from his first appearance in the forum. He has formerly, at different junctures, and lately, during this unhappy civil war, offered me an asylum at Patræ; and I should have used his house with the same freedom as my own, if I had found occasion. But my strongest connexion with him results from a motive of a more sacred kind, as it arises from his intimacy with my friend Atticus, for whom he entertains a very singular affection and esteem. If Curius is known to you, I imagine I am paying him the tribute of my good offices somewhat too late; for I dare say his polite
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² This is the same person to whom the 25th letter of the preceding book is addressed. See rem. 6. p. 361. of this vol.

and elegant manners have already recommended him to your regard. However, should this prove to be the case, I very earnestly entreat you to suffer this letter to confirm and increase the favourable disposition you have conceived towards him. But if his modesty has concealed him from your notice, or you have only a slight acquaintance with him, or, for any other reason, a farther recommendation may be necessary, I most warmly and most deservedly give him mine. I will be answerable, too, (as every one ought, indeed, whose offices of this kind are sincere and disinterested) that you will experience so much politeness and probity in Curius, as to convince you that he is worthy both of my recommendation and of your friendship. In the mean time, be assured you will very sensibly oblige me, if I should find that this letter shall have had all the influence with you which I confidently expect. Farewel.

LETTER III.

[A. U. 707.]

TO AULUS TORQUATUS.

It was more in compliance with the affection of my heart, than as thinking it in the least necessary that I detained you so long in my last¹.

Your

¹ The first letter of the present book.

Your fortitude wants not to be animated by any exhortations of mine ; and, indeed, I am in every respect too much distressed myself, to be capable of encouraging another. But, whatever reason there might or might not have been for the length of my former letter, I am sure it may well excuse me from extending my present, nothing new having since occurred. For as to the various and contradictory reports, which are every day propagated amongst us, concerning affairs in Spain, I imagine they are spread likewise into your part of the world.--- They will all terminate, however, in the same fatal catastrophe; a catastrophe, which I no less clearly discern (and I am well assured it is equally visible to yourself) than if it were now actually before my view. 'Tis true no one can determine what will be the event of the approaching battle; but as to that of the war in general, I have no manner of doubt; at least, none with respect to its consequences: for one side or the other must certainly be victorious; and I am well convinced of the use that either party will make of their success. Such an use, indeed, that I had rather suffer what is generally esteemed the most terrible of all evils, than live to be a spectator of so dreadful a scene. Yes, my friend, life, upon the terms on which we must then endure it, would be the completion of human misery ;

sery ; whereas death was never considered by any wise man as an evil, even to the happy themselves. But you are in a city where the very walls will inspire you with these and other reflections of the same tendency, in a far more efficacious manner than I can suggest them². I will only, therefore, assure you (unsubstantial as the consolation is which arises from the misfortunes of others) that you are at present in no greater danger than any of those of the same party, who have either totally renounced the war, or who are still in arms, as they are both under equal apprehensions from the victor. But there is another and far higher consolation, which I hope is *your* support, as it certainly is mine. For so long as I shall preserve my innocence, I will never whilst I exist be anxiously disturbed at any event that may happen : and if I should cease to exist, all sensibility must cease with me³. But I am again returning to my unnecessary reflections, and, in the language of the old proverb, am “ sending “ owls to Athens” To put an end to them, be assured that the welfare of yourself and family, together with the success of all your concerns, is my great and principal care, and shall continue to be so to the end of my days.

Farewel.

LETTER

² See rem. 6. p. 409. of this vol.² See rem. 6. p. 232. of this vol.³ See rem. 8. p. 236. of this vol.

LETTER IV.

[A. U. 707.]

TO SERVIUS SULPICIUS.

YOUR very polite and obliging letter to Atticus, afforded him great satisfaction; but not more than I received from it myself. It was, indeed, equally agreeable to us both. But, although we neither of us doubted that you would readily comply with any request he should make, yet your having voluntarily and unexpectedly offered him your services, was a circumstance, I must acknowledge, that raised Atticus's admiration less than mine. As you have given him the most ample assurances, therefore, of your good offices, it is unnecessary that I should desire you to add any thing to them from your regard to me. It would be no less impertinent, likewise, to send you my acknowledgments upon this occasion, as your offer was entirely the spontaneous result of your particular friendship to Atticus. This, however, I will say, that as such an uncommon proof of your esteem for a man whom I singularly love and value, could not but be highly agreeable to me, so it is an obligation I must necessarily place to my own account. And, indeed, as I may take the liberty from the intimacy between us, to transgress the

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the strict rules of propriety, I shall venture to do the two things which I just now declared were both improper and unnecessary. Accordingly, let me request, in the first place, that you would add as much as possible to those services, for my sake, with which you have shewn yourself willing to favour Atticus for his own : and, in the next place, desire your acceptance of my acknowledgments for those which you have already so generously promised him. And be assured, whatever good offices you shall render to Atticus in regard to his affairs in Epirus⁴, or upon any other occasion, will be so many obligations conferred upon myself. Farewel.

LETTER

⁴ Epirus was contiguous to Greece, and annexed to the government of that province. It is now called *Janna*, and is under the dominion of the Turks. A considerable part of Atticus's estate lay in this country. *Nepos. in vit. Att. 14.*

LETTER V.

[A. U. 107.]

To the same.

I HAVE long been united with Lyso, a citizen of Patræ, by ties which I deem of sacred obligation; the ties, I mean, of hospitality^s. This is a sort of connexion, 'tis true, in which I am engaged, also, with many others; but I never contracted with any of my hosts so strict an intimacy. The many good offices I received from Lyso, together with the habitudes of a daily intercourse, improved our acquaintance into the highest degree of friendship; and, indeed, during the whole year, he resided here, we were scarce ever separated. We neither of us doubted that my former letter would have the effect I find it has, and induce you to take his affairs under your protection in his absence. Nevertheless, as he had appeared in arms in favour of our party, we were under perpetual apprehensions of *his* resentment, in whom all power is now centered. But Lyso's illustrious rank, together with the zealous applications of myself and the rest of those who have shared in his generous hospitality, have at length obtained

^s See rem. 3. p. 113. of this vol.

obtained all that we could wish; as you will perceive by the letter which Cæsar himself has written to you. I am so far, however, from thinking him in circumstances that will allow me to release you from any part of my former solicitation; that I now more strongly request you to receive him into your patronage and friendship. Whilst his fate was yet in suspense, I was less forward in claiming your good offices; being cautious of giving you a trouble which possibly might prove to no purpose. But as his pardon is absolutely confirmed, I most ardently entreat your best services in his behalf. Not to enumerate particulars, I recommend to you his whole family in general, but more especially his son. My old client Memmius Gemellus⁶, having been presented with the freedom of the city of Patræ during his unhappy banishment, adopted this young man according to the forms prescribed by the laws of that community: and I beseech you to support him in his right of succeeding to the estate of his adoptive father. But, above all, as I have thoroughly experienced the merit and grateful disposition of Lyso, let me conjure you to admit him into a share of your friendship. I am
persuaded

⁶ Probably the same person to whom the 27th let. of the 3d book is addressed. See rem. 5. p. 281. vol. i.

persuaded, if you should do so, you will hereafter look upon him with the same affection, and recommend him with as much zeal as I have expressed in the present instance. There is nothing, indeed, I more earnestly wish, than to raise in you this disposition towards him : as I fear if you should not confer upon him your best services, he will suspect, not that you are unmindful of my recommendations, but that I did not sufficiently enforce them. For he must be perfectly sensible, not only from what he has frequently heard me declare, but from your own obliging letters to me, of the singular share I enjoy in your friendship and esteem. Farewel.

LETTER VI.

[A. U. 707.]



To the same.

AsCLAPO, a physician of Patræ, is my very particular friend : to whose company, as well as skill in his profession, I have been much indebted. I had occasion to experience the latter, in my own family : and had great reason to be satisfied with his knowledge, his integrity and his tenderness. I recommend him, therefore, to your favour : and entreat you, to let him see, by the effects of this letter, that I did

did so in the strongest manner. Your compliance with this request will oblige me exceedingly. Farewel.

LETTER VII.

[A. U. 707.]

To the same.

MARCUS ÆMILIUS AVIANUS has distinguished me, from his earliest youth, with peculiar marks of affection and esteem. He is a man not only of great politeness, but probity; and, indeed, in every view of his character, is extremely amiable. If I imagined he were at Sicyon⁷, I should think it utterly unnecessary to add any thing farther in his behalf; being well persuaded that the elegance and integrity of his manners would be sufficient of themselves to recommend him to the same degree of *your* affection, which he possesses, not only of mine, but of every one of his friends in general. But as I hear he still continues at Cybira, where I left him some time ago⁸; I most strongly recommend his affairs and family at Sicyon, to your favour and protection. Among these, I

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⁷ A city in the Peloponnesus, now called *Batlica*.

⁸ Cybira was a city of Lycaonia, annexed to the government of Cilicia: Cicero alludes to the time when he was proconsul of that province.

must particularly single out his freedman Hammonius, as one who has a claim to my recommendation upon his own account. He has gained my good opinion, not only by his uncommon zeal and fidelity towards his patron, but by the very important services, likewise, which he has conferred upon myself. Indeed, had it been to me that he had been indebted for the privilege of his freedom, he could not have acted with a more faithful and affectionate assiduity than I experienced from him in my troubles⁹. In the first place, then, I entreat your protection of Hammonius, as agent in the affairs of his patron: and, in the next, I recommend him upon his own account, as worthy to be received into the number of your friends. Believe me, you will find him of a modest, obliging temper, and well deserving a place in your affection. Farewel.

LETTER VIII.

[A. U. 707.]

To the same.

I HAVE a very great regard for Titus Manlius, a merchant of Thespiæ; not only as one from whom I have always received singular marks of consideration and esteem, but as he is an admirer also of our favourite studies. To this I must

⁹ During his persecution by Clodius.

must add, that my friend Varro Murena very warmly espouses his interest. And though Murena has full confidence in the effect of that letter which he has himself written to you in favour of Manlius, yet he is persuaded that my recommendation, likewise, may somewhat increase your disposition to assist him. In compliance, therefore, with my desire of serving both Murena and Manlius, I recommend the latter to you in the strongest terms: and you will greatly oblige me by promoting the interest and honours of Manlius, in every instance consistent with your own character and dignity. I will venture to assure you, likewise, from the knowledge I have of his polite and humanized disposition, that your good offices towards him will be attended with all the satisfaction you can promise yourself from the gratitude of a worthy man. Farewel.

LETTER IX.

[A. U. 707.]

To the same.

MY friend and tribe-fellow¹, Lucius Cossinius, is one with whom I have long lived in great intimacy:

¹ The collective body of the Roman people was divided into 35 tribes: and every citizen, of whatever rank, was necessarily enrolled under one or other of these several classes. They were each distinguished by a particular name, as the

intimacy: and which his connexions with Atticus has contributed still farther to improve. I enjoy the affection of his whole family, but particularly of his freedman Anchialus; who is highly in the esteem, not only of his patron, but of all his patron's friends; in which number I have already mentioned myself. I recommend Anchialus, therefore, to your favour, with as much warmth as if he stood in the same relation to me that he does to Cossinius. You will oblige me, indeed, in a very sensible manner, by receiving him into your friendship, and giving him any assistance he may require: as far, I mean, as your own convenience will admit. And you will hereafter, I am persuaded, receive much satisfaction from your compliance with this request: as you will find Anchialus to be a man of the greatest politeness and probity. Farewel.

LETTER X.

[A. U. 707.]

To the same.

THE pleasure I took in the reflection of having written to you in behalf of my friend and
host

Tribus Popilia, Tribus Velina, &c. which name was derived either from the place which the tribe principally inhabited, or from some distinguished family it contained. *Rosin. Antiq. Rom.*

host Lyso, was much increased when I read his letter: and I particularly rejoiced in having so strongly recommended him to your esteem, when I found he had before been a sufferer in your good opinion. For my recommendation, he tells me, was of singular advantage in removing the groundless suspicion you had entertained of him, from a report that he had frequently, whilst he was at Rome, treated your character in a disrespectful manner. Let me, in the first place then, return you those thanks which I so justly owe you, for suffering my letter to efface every remaining impression of this injurious calumny. And, in the next place, although Lyso assures me that, agreeably to your well-natured and generous disposition, he has entirely satisfied you of his innocence, yet I entreat you to believe me when I protest, not only in justice to my friend, but to the world in general, that I never heard any man mention you without the highest applause. As to Lyso, in particular, in all the daily conversations we had together, whilst he continued here, you were the perpetual subject of his encomiums; both as he imagined that I heard them with pleasure, and as it was a topic extremely agreeable, likewise, to himself. But though he is fully satisfied with the effects of my former

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letter,

letter, and I am sensible that the generous manner in which you treat him, renders all farther application perfectly unnecessary; yet I cannot forbear renewing my earnest solicitations that you would continue your favours towards him. I would again also represent to you how well he deserves them, if I did not imagine you were, by this time, sufficiently acquainted with his merit. Farewel.

LETTER XI.

[A. U. 707.]

To the same.

HAGESARETUS of Larissa³ having received considerable honours from me during my consulate, has ever since distinguished me with singular marks of gratitude and respect. I strongly recommend him, therefore, to you as my host and friend; as a man of an honest and grateful heart; as a person of principal rank in his native city; and, in short, as one who is altogether worthy of being admitted into your friendship. And I shall be exceedingly obliged to you for
letting

³ There were two cities of this name in Thessaly: a country contiguous to Greece, and which formerly made part of the kingdom of Macedonia. One of these cities was situated upon the river Peneas, and is now called Larisa: the other was a maritime town. Geographers suppose the latter to be the present *Armino*: a considerable sea port belonging to the Turks.

letting him see, that you pay regard to this my recommendation. Farewel.

LETTER XII.

[A. U. 707.]

To the same.

THE connexion between Lucius Mescinius and myself, results from no less powerful a tie than that of his having been formerly my quæstor⁴. But, though I always considered a relation of this kind in the high regard it was viewed by our ancestors, yet the refined and elegant virtues of Mescinius⁵ rendered it still more justly sacred. Accordingly, there is no man with whom I live in a higher degree of intimacy, or from whose friendship I derive greater satisfaction. He doubts not of your disposition to serve him upon every occasion that shall comport with your honour: however, he is persuaded that a letter from my hand will considerably strengthen your inclinations for that purpose. This he collects not only from his own observation, but from those frequent declarations he has heard me make, of the very pleasing and intimate friendship in which
you

⁴ See rem. 1. p. 91 of this vol.

⁵ The reader will find, by the remark referred to in the last note, how little there was of truth and sincerity in the character which Cicero here bestows upon his friend.

you and I are so strictly joined. I am to inform you, then, that his late brother, who was a merchant in Elis⁶, has left him his estate : and I entreat you, with all the warmth which you are sensible ought to animate me in the concerns of a friend to whom I am so strongly and closely attached, that you would assist him with your power, your influence, and your advice in settling these his affairs in your province. In view to this, we have sent directions to his agent, that if any disputes should arise concerning the estate or effects of the testator, that they shall be guided by your sentiments, and (if it be not troubling you too much) determined by your arbitration : an office which I earnestly entreat you to undertake, and the acceptance of which I shall esteem as an honour done to myself. But if any of the claimants should be so obstinate as to refuse your award, I shall receive it as a singular obligation if you will refer their pretensions (provided you shall not think it a derogation from your dignity) to be determined in the courts at Rome : as the matter in contest is with a Roman senator. That you may the less scruple to comply with this request, I have procured a sort of recommendatory letter to you from the consul

⁶ A city in the Peloponnesus.

consul Lepidus⁷. I say a *recommendatory* one ; for to have desired him to write in a more authoritative style, would not, I thought, be treating your high station with the deference which is so justly due to it. I would add, that your obliging Mescinius in this instance, will be laying out your favours to much advantage ; if I were not, on the one hand, well persuaded that this is a circumstance of which you are already apprised ; and on the other, were I not soliciting you as for an affair of my own. For be assured, I take an equal concern with Mescinius in every article wherein he is interested. As I am very desirous, therefore, that he may obtain his right with as little trouble as possible, so I am solicitous, likewise, that he should have reason to think, that my recommendation has greatly contributed to this end. Farewel.

LETTER XIII.

[A. U. 707.]

To the same.

THE regard you pay to my recommendations, has given me, and will hereafter give me, I dare say, frequent occasions of repeating my acknowledgments. However, I will attempt,
if

⁷ He was this year appointed by Cæsar to be his colleague in the consular office. *Plut. in vit. Anton.*

if possible, to convey my thanks to you in a style as various as the several instances that demand them: and, in imitation of you lawyers⁸, express the same thing in different words.

I have received a letter from Hammonius, full of the strongest expressions of gratitude for the services you have rendered both to him and Avianus, in consequence of my recommendation⁹: and he assures me that nothing can be more generous than the personal civilities you have shewn to himself, as well as the attention you have given to the affairs of his patron. This would afford me a very sensible pleasure, were I to consider it only as a benefit to those to whom I have the strongest attachments: as indeed Avianus has distinguished himself above all my friends by his superior sensibility of the many and great obligations I have conferred upon him. But my satisfaction still increases, when I view it as an instance of my standing so high in your esteem, as to incline you to serve my friends more efficaciously than I myself should, perhaps, were I present for that purpose. Possibly the reason of your having this advantage over me, may be, that I should not yield altogether so easily to their requests, as you comply with mine. But what-
ever

⁸ Sulpicius was one of the most considerable lawyers of the age. See rem. 6. p. 287. of this vol.

⁹ See the 7th let. of this book.

ever doubt I may have as to that point, I have none of your being persuaded that I entertain the sentiments of your favours they deserve : and I entreat you to believe (what I will be answerable is the truth) that both Avianus and Hammonius have received them with the same grateful disposition. I beseech you then, if it be not engaging you in too much trouble, that you would endeavour that their affairs may be settled before you leave the province.

I live in a most agreeable intimacy with your son, whose genius and uncommon application, but, above all, his probity and virtue, afford me a very sensible pleasure. Farewel.

● LETTER XIV.

[A. U. 707.]

To the same.

IT is always with much pleasure that I apply to you in behalf of my friends : but I find a still greater in expressing my gratitude for those favours you yield to my solicitations. This, indeed, is a pleasure, with which you never fail of supplying me : and it is incredible what acknowledgments I receive, even from persons whom I have but slightly mentioned to you. I think myself greatly indebted for these instances

stances of your friendship : but particularly for those good offices you have conferred upon Mescinius. He informs me that immediately upon the receipt of my letter^a, you gave his agents full assurance of your services ; and have since performed even more than you promised. Believe me, (and I cannot too often repeat it) you have, by these means, laid an obligation upon me of the most acceptable kind : and it affords me so much the higher satisfaction, as I am persuaded Mescinius will give you abundant reason to rejoice in it yourself. Virtue and probity, in truth, are the prevailing qualities of his heart ; as an obliging and friendly officiousness is his distinguishing characteristic. To this I must add, that he is particularly devoted to our favourite speculations : those philosophical speculations, my friend, which were always the delight, as they are now also the support and consolation of my life. Let me entreat you then to give him fresh instances of your generosity upon every occasion, wherein it shall not be inconsistent with your dignity to interpose. But there are two articles in which I will particularly request it. The first is, that if those who are indebted to the estate of his testator, should insist upon being indemnified in their payments to Mescinius, that my

^a The 12th letter of this book.

my security may be accepted; and the next is, that as the greatest part of the testator's effects are secreted by his wife, that you would assist in concerting measures for sending her to Rome. Should she be once persuaded that this method will be taken with her, we doubt not of her settling every thing to the satisfaction of Mescinius: and that it may be so, I most strongly again request the interposition of your good offices. In the mean time, I will be answerable for what I just now assured you, that the gratitude and other amiable qualities of Mescinius, will give you reason to think your favours were not ill bestowed, which I mention as a motive on his own account, to be added to those which induced you to serve him upon mine.

I am persuaded that the Lacedæmonians doubt not of being sufficiently recommended to your justice and patronage, by their own and their ancestors' virtues, and I know you too well to question your being perfectly acquainted with the national rights and merit of every people who are connected with the republic. Accordingly, notwithstanding the great obligations I have received from the citizens of Lacedæmon, yet, when Philippus requested me to recommend them to your protection, my answer was, that the Lacedæmonians could not possibly

possibly stand in need of an advocate with Sulpicius. The truth is, I look upon it as a circumstance of singular advantage to all the cities of Achaia²; in general, that you preside over them in these turbulent times; and I am persuaded that you, who are so peculiarly conversant, not only in the Roman but Grecian annals, cannot but be a friend to the Lacedæmonians, for the sake of their heroic descent. I will only, therefore, entreat you, that when you are acting towards them in consequence of what your justice and honour requires, you would, at the same time, intimate, that you receive an additional pleasure from indulging your own inclinations of that sort, by knowing them to be agreeable likewise to mine. As I think myself obliged to shew this city that their concerns are part of my care, it is with much earnestness I make this request. Farewel.

LETTER

² Greece.

LETTER XV.

[A. U. 708.]

TO LEPTA³.

THE moment I received your letter from the hands of Seleucus, I dispatched a note to Balbus, to enquire the purport of the law you mention⁴. His answer was, that such persons as at present exercise the office of *præcōs*⁵, are expressly excluded from being *decurii*⁶: but this prohibition extended not to those who had formerly been engaged in that employment. Let not our friends, then, be discouraged. It would, indeed, have been intolerable,

³ Cicero mentions a person of this name in a former letter, who appears to have been his *Præfectus Fabrum*, or what might be called, perhaps, in modern language, the commander of his train of artillery; when he was governor of Cilicia. It is probable, therefore, as Manutius conjectures, that he is the same person to whom this letter is addressed. *Vid. Epist. Fam. iii. 7.*

⁴ Manutius very justly observes, that this could not be a law which Cæsar had actually passed, but one which he intended, perhaps, to enact, when he should return from Spain; for if it had been actually promulgated, Cicero could have had no occasion to apply to Balbus for his intelligence.

⁵ The office of *præco* seems to have been much in the nature of a crier in our courts of justice; but not altogether so low in repute.

⁶ A *decurio* was, in a corporate city, the same as a senator of Rome; that is, a member of the public council of the community.

able, that a parcel of paltry fortune-tellers should be thought worthy of being admitted into the senate of Rome⁷, at the same time that having formerly acted as a præco should disqualify a man for being member of the council of a country corporation.

We have no news from Spain : all that we know with certainty is, that young Pompey has drawn together a very considerable army. This we learn from a letter of Pacæus⁸ to Cæsar, a copy whereof Cæsar himself has transmitted to us ; in which it is affirmed that Pompey is at the head of eleven legions⁹. Messala, in a letter he lately wrote to Quintus Salassus, informs him that his brother, Publius Curtius, has been executed, by the command of Pompey, in the presence of his whole army. This man had entered, it seems, into a conspiracy with some Spaniards, by which it was agreed, in case Pompey should march into a certain village for

⁷ This is a sneer upon Cæsar, who had introduced persons of the lowest rank and character into the Roman senate. See Rem. 9. p. 134. of this vol.

⁸ He was a native of Spain, and a person of great note in that province. Cæsar entrusted him with a very considerable command in the expedition against the sons of Pompey. *Hirt. de Bell. Hisp.* 3.

⁹ The number of horse and foot in a Roman legion varied in different periods of the republic. In its lowest computation it appears to have amounted to 3000 foot and 200 horse ; and, in its highest, to have risen to 6000 of the former, and 400 of the latter. *Rosin. Antiq. Rom.* 964.

for provisions, to seize upon his person; and deliver him into the hands of Cæsar.

In relation to the security in which you stand engaged for Pompey, you may depend upon it; as soon as Galba, who is jointly bound with you, returns hither, I shall not fail to consult with him about measures for settling that affair. He seemed, I remember, to imagine that it might be adjusted; and you know he is a man who spares no pains where his money is concerned.

It gives me much pleasure to find that you so highly approve of my¹⁰ *Orator*. Whatever skill I have in the art, I have displayed it all in that treatise; and if the commendations you bestow upon it are not too partial, I cannot but set some value upon my judgment. To speak truth, I am willing to rest all my reputation of this kind upon the merit of that performance. I hope my little favourite, your son, already discovers some relish for writings of this sort: and although he is yet too young to enter far into these studies, yet it will be no disadvantage to him to begin thus early to form his taste by compositions of this nature.

I have

¹⁰ This elegant and judicious piece is inscribed to Brutus, and was written in answer to a question he had often proposed to Cicero, concerning the noblest and most perfect species of eloquence.

I have been detained at Rome, on account of my daughter Tullia's lying-in. But though she is now, I hope, out of all danger, yet I still wait here in expectation of my first payment from the agents of Dolabella¹¹; and, to tell you the truth, I am not so fond of changing the scene as formerly. The amusement I found in my country houses, together with the sweets of retirement, were wont heretofore to draw me frequently out of Rome. But the situation of my present house is altogether as pleasant as that of any of my villas. I am, indeed, as much retired here, as if I lived in the most unfrequented desert, and carry on my studies without the least interruption. I believe, therefore, that I have a better chance of a visit from you in Rome, than you have of seeing me in the country.

I would recommend Hesiod to the agreeable little Lepta, as an author which he ought to retain by heart; and particularly let him always have in his mouth those noble lines,

*High on a rugged rock, &c*¹².

Farewel.

LETTER

¹¹ This seems to intimate that there had been a divorce between Dolabella and Tullia: as it was usual, in cases of that kind, for the husband to return the portion he had received from his wife, at three annual payments. See rem. 2. p. 4. and rem. 4. p. 7. of vol. iii.

¹² The passage in Hesiod, at which Cicero hints, is to the following purpose:

*High on a rugged rock the gods ordain,
Majestic Virtue shall her throne maintain:*

And

LETTER XVI.

[A. U. 708.]

TO AULUS TORQUATUS.

THERE is no news to send you ; and, indeed, if there were any, yet all accounts of that kind, I know, are usually transmitted to you by your own family. As to what may hereafter happen, though it is always difficult to determine concerning future events, yet, when they are not placed at too great a distance, one may sometimes form a tolerable guess. At present, however, all I can conjecture is, that the war is not likely to be drawn out into any great length ; though I must acknowledge there are some who think differently. I am even inclined to believe that there has already been an engagement : but I do not give you this as a fact ; I mention it only as extremely probable. The event of war is always precarious ; but, in the present instance, the number of forces is so considerable on each side, and there is such a general spirit, it is said, in both armies, of coming to action, that it will not be matter of surprise whichever side should obtain the victory.

*And many a thorny path her sons must press,
Ere the glad summit shall their labours bless.
There joys serene to arduous toils succeed,
And peace eternal is the victor's meed.*

F f 3

tory¹. In the mean time, the world is every day more and more persuaded, that although there may be some little difference in the cause of the contending parties, there will be scarce any in the consequence of their success. As to one of them, we have already, in some sort, experienced their disposition²; and, as to the other, we are all of us sufficiently sensible how much is to be dreaded from an increased conqueror³.

If, by what I have here said, I may seem to increase that grief which I should endeavour to alleviate; I must confess, that I know but one reflection capable of supporting us under these public misfortunes. It is a reflection, however, of sovereign efficacy, where it can be applied in its full force; and, of which, I every day more and more experience the singular advantage. It is, indeed, the greatest consolation under adversity, to be conscious of having always meant well,

¹ This letter was probably written very early in the present year; as it was on the 17th of March that the two armies came to a general engagement. This decisive battle was fought under the walls of Munda, a city which still subsists in the province of Granada. Cæsar obtained a complete victory; but it was disputed by the Pompeians with so much courage and obstinacy, that it was long doubtful on which side the advantage would turn, or, as Florus most elegantly expresses it, *ut plane videretur nescio quid deliberare Fortuna*. *Hirt. de Bel. Hisp.* 31. *Flor.* iv. 2.

² The Cæsarean party.

³ Young Pompey, who, if he had succeeded, would undoubtedly have acted with great severity towards Cicero, and the rest of those who had deserted the cause of his father.

well, and to be persuaded, that nothing but guilt deserves to be considered as a severe evil. But as you and I are so far from having any thing to reproach ourselves with, that we have the satisfaction to reflect, that we have ever acted upon the most patriot principles; as it is not our measures, but the ill success of those measures, which the world regrets; in a word, as we have faithfully discharged that duty we owed to our country, let us bear the event with calmness and moderation. But I pretend not to teach you how to support these our common calamities. It is a lesson which requires much greater abilities than mine to inculcate, as well as the most singular fortitude of soul to practise. There is one point, however, in which any man is qualified to be your instructor, as it is easy to shew that you have no reason to be particularly afflicted. For with respect to Cæsar, though he has appeared somewhat more slow in granting your pardon than was generally imagined, yet I have not the least doubt of his consenting to your restoration; and as to the other party^s, you perfectly well know how your interest stands with them, without my telling you. Your only remaining disquietude, then, must arise from being thus long separated from your family: and it is a circumstance, I confess,

^s The Pompeians.

confess, that justly merits your concern, especially as you are by this mean deprived of the company of those most amiable youths, your sons. But, as I observed in a former⁶ letter, it is natural for every man, in these unhappy times, to look upon his own condition as, of all others, the most miserable, and to deem that place the least eligible in which it is his fortune to be situated. For my own part, indeed, I think that we who live at Rome are most to be lamented; not only as, in misfortunes of every kind, a spectator must be more sensibly affected than he who is acquainted with them merely by report; but as we are more exposed to the danger of sudden violences, than those who are placed at a greater distance.

Yet, after all my endeavours to reason you out of *your* inquietudes, I cannot but acknowledge, that I am more obliged to time, than to that philosophy which I have ever cultivated, for the mitigation of my own; and how great they once were, you perfectly well know. But, in the first place, I have the consolation to reflect, that when I was so desirous of peace, as to think even a bad one preferable to a civil war, I saw farther into consequences than some of my countrymen. And although I do not pretend to a spirit of divination, and it was chance alone that verified my predictions,

⁶ The first letter of this book.

tions, yet I will own that I take great satisfaction in the empty honour of my fruitless penetration. In the next place, I have the consolation, in common with yourself, that should I now be called upon to lay down my life, I shall not be cut off from a commonwealth, which I can by any means regret to leave; especially as the same blow that deprives me of my life, will deprive me, likewise, of all sensibility⁷. Besides, I am already arrived at a fullness of years⁸; and, as I can look back with entire satisfaction, on the course I have completed, so I have nothing to fear from any violence which may be offered to me, since nature herself has now well-nigh conducted my days to their final period. In a word, when I reflect upon that great man⁹, or rather, indeed, upon those many illustrious personages who perished in this war; it would seem a want of modesty to regret submitting to the same fate, whenever I shall find it necessary. The truth is, I represent to myself all that can possibly happen to me; as, indeed, there is no calamity so severe which I do not look upon as actually impending. However, since to live in perpetual fear is a greater evil than any we can dread,

I check

⁷ See rem. 6. p. 232. of this vol.

⁸ Cicero was at this time in his 61st year.

⁹ Pompey.

I check myself in these reflections, especially as I am approaching to that state, which is not only unattended with any pain in itself, but which will put an end to all painful sensations for ever. But I have dwelt longer upon this subject, perhaps, than was necessary. However, if I run out my letters to an unreasonable extent, you must not impute it to impertinence, but affection.

I am sorry to hear that Sulpicius has left Athens¹⁰; as I am persuaded, that the daily company and conversation of so wise and valuable a friend, afforded you great relief under your afflictions. But I hope you will continue to bear them as becomes you, and support yourself with your usual fortitude. In the mean time, be assured, I shall promote, with the utmost zeal and care, whatever I shall think agreeable to the interest or inclination either of you or yours. And, in this, I can only imitate you in your disposition to serve me, without being able to return your generous offices in the same efficacious manner. Farewel.

LETTER

¹⁰ In order, probably, to return to Rome upon the expiration of his government.

LETTER XVII.

[A. U. 798.]

TO CAIUS CASSIUS.

I SHOULD not send you so short a letter, if your courier had not called for it just as he was setting out. But I have still another reason; for I have nothing to write to you in the way of pleasantry, and serious affairs are topics in which it is not altogether safe to engage. You will, therefore, wonder, perhaps, that I should be in any humour to be jocose; and, indeed, it is no very easy matter. However, it is the only expedient left to divert our uneasy thoughts. But where then, you will probably ask, is our philosophy? Why yours, my friend, is in the kitchen, I suppose; and, as to mine, it is much too troublesome a guest to gain admittance. The fact is, I am heartily ashamed of being a slave; and, therefore, that I may not hear the severe reproaches of Plato, I endeavour to turn my attention another way.

We have hitherto received no certain intelligence from Spain. I rejoice, upon your account, that you are absent from this unpleasing scene; though I greatly regret it upon my own. But
your

¹ This is a raillery upon the tenets of Cassius, who held the doctrines of the Epicurean sect.

your courier presses me to dispatch, so that I can only bid you adieu, and entreat the continuance of that friendship you have ever shewn me from your earliest youth.

LETTER XVIII.

[A. U. 708.]

TO DOLABELLA².

I WOULD not venture to omit writing to you by our friend Salvius; though I have nothing more to say than what you perfectly well know already, that I infinitely love you³. I have more reason, indeed, to expect a letter from you, than you can have to receive one from me, as I imagine there is nothing going forward in Rome, which you will think of importance enough to raise your curiosity; unless, perhaps, that I am to sit in judgment between two learned grammarians; our friend Nicias, and his antagonist Vidius. The latter, you must know, has produced a certain *manuscript*, relating to an account between them; to which
Nicias,

² He was, at this time, with Cæsar, in Spain.

³ Whatever disagreement there was between Dolabella and Tullia, it did not, in appearance at least, occasion any coolness between him and his father-in-law; a circumstance, which, considering the tenderness of Cicero for his daughter, can only be accounted for by Dolabella's great credit with Cæsar.

Nicias, like a second Aristarchus⁴, very peremptorily insists that some of the *lines* are altogether *spurious*. Now I, like a venerable ancient critic, am to determine whether these suspected *interpolations* are *genuine* or not. But you will question, perhaps, whether I have sufficiently forgotten the delicious mushrooms and those noble prawns⁵ with which I have been so often regaled by Nicias and his gentle spouse, to be qualified for an impartial judge in this important cause. Let me ask you, in return, whether you imagine I have so entirely thrown off all my former severity, as to retain nothing of my old solemnity of brow, even when I am sitting in grave tribunal? You may be sure, however, that my honest host shall be no great sufferer. Though, let me tell you, if I should pass sentence of banishment upon him, I shall by no means allow you to reverse it, lest Bursa should be supplied with a pedagogue to teach him his letters⁶. But I am running on in this ludicrous style, without reflecting that you, who

⁴ A celebrated Greek critic. See rem. 7. p. 29. of this vol.

⁵ In the original it is *Culinarum*, which conveys no sense, or, at least, a very forced one. The reading, therefore, proposed by Gronovius, is adopted in the translation, who imagines the true word was *Squillarum*. For prawns was a fish in great repute amongst the Roman epicures.

⁶ Bursa was a particular enemy of Cicero, and had been banished for his riotous attempts to revenge the murder of Clodius, from which banishment he was lately recalled. See rem. 5. p. 263. vol. 1.

who are in the midst of a campaign, may, perhaps, be too seriously engaged to relish these humorous sallies. When I shall be certain, therefore, that you are in a disposition to laugh, you shall hear farther from me. I cannot, however, forbear adding, that the people were extremely solicitous concerning the fate of Sulla⁷, till the news of his death was confirmed; but now that they are assured of the fact, they are no longer inquisitive how it happened, well contented with their intelligence that he is undoubtedly defunct. As for myself, I bear this *deplorable* accident like a philosopher; my only concern is, lest it should damp the spirit of Cæsar's auctions⁸. Farewel.

LETTER

⁷ This man had rendered himself extremely and generally odious by the purchases he had made of the confiscated estates, during the proscriptions both of Sylla and Cæsar. *Cic. de Offic.* ii. 8.

⁸ In which the confiscated estates were put up to sale. One of the methods that Cæsar took to reward his partisans, was by suffering them to purchase these estates at an under-value; and it was the hopes of being a sharer in these iniquitous spoils, that furnished one of the principal incentives to the civil war. *Cic. ubi sup.*

LETTER XIX.

[A. U. 708.]

TO AULUS TORQUATUS.

I HOPE you will not imagine that you have been out of my thoughts, by my having lately been a more remiss correspondent than usual. The true occasion of my silence has partly arisen from an ill state of health, which, however, is now somewhat mended, and partly has been owing to my absence from Rome, which prevented me from being informed when any courier was dispatched to you. Be assured, that I constantly and most affectionately preserve you in my remembrance, and that your affairs, of every kind, are as much my concern as if they were my own.

Believe me, you have no reason, considering the unhappy situation of public affairs, to be uneasy that yours still remain in a more dubious and unsettled posture than was generally hoped and imagined. For one of these three events must necessarily take place; either we shall never see an end of our civil wars, or they will one day subside, and give the republic an opportunity of recovering its vigour, or they will terminate in its utter extinction. If the sword is never to be sheathed, you can have nothing
to

to fear either from the party which you formerly assisted, or from that by which you have lately been received⁹. But should the republic again revive, either by the contending factions mutually agreeing to a cessation of arms; or by their laying them down in mere lassitude; or by one side being vanquished; you will undoubtedly be again restored both to your rank and to your fortunes. And should our constitution be totally destroyed, agreeably to what the wise Marcus Antonius¹ long since apprehended, when he imagined that the present calamities were even then approaching, you will have the consolation, at least, to reflect, that a misfortune which is common to all,

⁹ Torquatus was now in Italy, having obtained the permission of returning, by means of Dolabella, with whom Cicero had employed his good offices for that purpose; as appears by several passages which Manutius has produced from the letters to Atticus. But whether Torquatus, afterwards, procured a full pardon from Cæsar, and was restored to his estates and honours, is uncertain; all that is farther known of him, is, that he was in the army of Brutus and Cassius, at the battle of Philippi, and in the number of those whom Atticus generously assisted in their distress after the event of that unfortunate action. *Ad Att.* xiii. 9. 20. 21. *Corn. Nep. in vit. Att.* ii.

¹ This eloquent and illustrious patriot, the grandfather of Mark Antony, was consul in the year 653; and, about 12 years afterwards, was put to death by the command of Marius, whose party he had strenuously opposed. Marius was at dinner when the executioner of his cruel orders brought him the head of Antonius, which that sanguinary Roman received into his hands, with all the insolent and horrid exultation of the most savage barbarian. *Plut. in Vit. Anton.* *Appian. Bel. Civil.* i. 344. *Val. Max.* ix. 2.

all, cannot be lamented as peculiar to any : and miserable as this consolation must prove to a man of your patriot virtues, 'tis a consolation however, to which we must necessarily have recourse.

If you well consider the full force of these few hints, (and I do not think it prudent to be more explicit in a letter) you must be convinced, without my telling you, that you have something to hope, and nothing to fear, so long as the republic shall subsist, either in its present, or any other form. But should it be entirely subverted, as I am sure you would not, if you were permitted, survive its ruin ; so I am persuaded you will patiently submit to your fate, in the conscious satisfaction of having in no sort deserved it. But I forbear to enter farther into this subject, and will only add my request, that you would inform me how it is with you, and where you purpose to fix your quarters : that I may know where a letter or a visit will find you. Farewel.

VOL. II.

G g

LETTER

LETTER XX.

[A. U. 708.]

TO CAIUS CASSIUS.

SURELY, my friend, your couriers are a set of most unconscionable fellows. Not that they have given me any particular offence: but as they never bring me a letter when they arrive here, is it fair they should always press me for one when they return? It would be more convenient, however, if they would give me earlier notice, and not make their demands in the very instant they are setting out. You must excuse me, therefore, (if an excuse I can want, who am so much more punctual a correspondent than yourself) should this letter prove no longer than my last; as you may be assured of receiving an ample detail of every thing in my next. But that my present epistle may not be wholly barren of news, I must inform you that Publius Sulla², the father, is dead. The occasion of this accident is variously reported: some say he was a martyr to his palate; and others, that he was murdered by highwaymen. The people, however, are perfectly indifferent as to the manner, since they are quite clear as to the fact: for certain it is, that the flames of his

² See rem. 7. on let. 18. of this book.

his funeral pile have consumed him to ashes. And what though liberty herself, alas ! perished with this paragon of patriots, you will bear the loss of him, I guess, with much philosophy. But Cæsar, 'tis thought, will be a real mourner, in the apprehension that his auctions will not now proceed so currently as usual. On the other hand, this event affords high satisfaction to Mindius Marcellus, and the essenced Attius, who rejoice exceedingly in having thus gotten quit of a formidable antagonist.

We are in great expectation of the news from Spain, having, as yet, received no certain intelligence from that quarter. Some flying reports, indeed, have been spread, that things do not go well there: but they are reports without authority.

Our friend Pansa set out for his government³ on the 30th of December. The circumstances that attended his departure afforded a very strong proof that "virtue is eligible upon its own account:" a truth which you have lately, it seems, begun to doubt⁴. The singular humanity with which he has relieved such numbers in these times of public distress, drew after

³ Of Gaul: in which he succeeded Marcus Brutus.

⁴ As having lately embraced the Epicurean principles. See the following letter.

after him, in a very distinguished manner, the general good wishes of every honest man.

I am extremely glad to find that you are still at Brundisium: and I much approve of your continuing there. You cannot be governed by a more judicious maxim, than to sit loose to the vain ambition of the world: and it will be a great satisfaction to all your friends to hear that you persevere in this prudent inactivity. In the mean time, I hope you will not forget me, when you send any letters to your family: as, on my own part, whenever I hear of any person that is going to you, I shall not fail to take the opportunity of writing. Farewel.

LETTER XXI.

[A. U. 708.]

To the same.

WILL you not blush when I remind you that this is the third letter I have written without having received a single line in return? However, I do not press you to be more expeditious: as I hope, and indeed insist, that you will make me amends for this delay, by the length of your next epistle. As for myself, if I had the opportunity of conveying my letters as frequently as I wish, I should write to you, I believe, every hour: for as often as I employ
1 my

my pen in this manner, you seem, as it were, actually present to my view. This effect is by no means produced, let me tell you, by those subtle images which your new⁵ friends talk so much of: who suppose that even the ideas of imagination are excited by what the late Catius, with wondrous elegancy, has styled *spectres*. For by this curious word⁶, you must know, he has expressed what Epicurus, who borrowed the notion from Democritus⁷, has called *images*. But granting that these same *spectres* are capable of affecting the organ of vision, yet I cannot guess which way they can contrive to make their entrance into the mind. But you will

⁵ The Epicureans: to whose system of philosophy Cassius had lately become a convert. Accordingly Cicero rallies him in this and the following passages, on their absurd doctrine concerning ideas: which they maintained were excited by certain thin forms, or images, perpetually floating in the air. These images were supposed to be constantly emitted from all objects, and to be of so delicate and subtle a texture, as easily to penetrate through the pores of the body, and by that means render themselves visible to the mind. *Lucret.* iv. 726, &c.

⁶ It is probable that Catius either coined this word himself, or employed it in a new and improper manner. For it is observable, that both Lucretius and Cicero, whenever they have occasion to express, in their own language, what the Greek Epicureans called εἰδωλα, always render it by the word *simulachra* or *imagines*.

⁷ He was a native of Abdera, a city in Thrace, and flourished about 400 years before the Christian æra. Epicurus, who was born about forty years afterwards, borrowed much of his doctrine from the writings of this philosopher. *Cic. de Fin.* i. 6.

will solve this difficulty when we meet, and tell me by what means, whenever I shall be disposed to think of you, I may be able to call up your *spectre*: and not only yours, whose image, indeed, is already so deeply stamped upon my heart, but even that of the whole British island, for instance, if I should be inclined to make it the subject of my meditations.—But more of this another time. In the mean while, I send this as an experiment to try with what temper you can bear my raileries. Should they seem to touch you, I shall renew my attack with so much the more vigour, and will apply for a writ of *restitution* to reinstate you in your old tenets: “of which you, the “said Cassius, have by force and arms^s been “dispossessed.” Length of possession, in this case, will be no plea in bar: for whether the time be more or less since you have been driven by the allurements of pleasure from the mansions of virtue, my action will be still maintainable,

^s These were the formal words of the prætor’s edict, commanding the restoration of a person to an estate, of which he had been forcibly dispossessed. Cicero, perhaps, besides the humour of their general application, meant likewise archly to intimate, that Cassius had been driven out of his more rigid principles by his military companions: as, in a letter written to Trebatius, when he was making a campaign with Cæsar in Gaul, where our author is rallying him upon a similar occasion, he insinuates that he had acquired his Epicurism in the camp. *Indicavit mihi Pansa, says he, Epicureum te esse factum. O castra præclara!* *Epist., Fam. vii. 12.*

tainable. But let me not forget whom it is that I am thus bantering: Is it not that illustrious friend, whose every step, from his first entrance into the world, has been conducted by the highest honour and virtue? If it be true, then, that you have embraced the Epicurean principles, I doubt they have more strength and solidity in them than I once imagined.

And now, will you not be inclined to ask how I could possibly think of amusing you in this idle manner? The truth of it is, I am not furnished with a more important subject, as I have nothing to write to you concerning public affairs; nor, indeed, do I chuse to trust my sentiments of them in a letter. Farewel.

LETTER XXII.

[A. U. 708.]

CASSIUS TO CICERO.

NOTHING affords me a greater pleasure in my travels, than to converse with my friend. It brings you, indeed, so strongly to my mind, that I fancy myself indulging a vein of pleasantry with you in person. This lively impression, however, is by no means produced by those Catian *spectres* you mention⁹: and for which piece of raillery I intend to draw up in my

⁹ In the preceding letter. See rem. 5 and 6. thereon.

my next such a list of inelegant Stoics, as will force you to acknowledge that Catius, in comparison with these, may well pass for a native of the refined Athens.

It gives me much satisfaction, not only upon our friend Pansa's account, but for the sake of every one of us, that he received such marks of public esteem when he set out for his government'. I hope this circumstance will be thought a convincing proof how amiable a spirit of probity and benevolence, and how odious the contrary disposition, renders its possessor: and that the world will learn from hence, that these popular honours, which are so passionately courted by bad citizens, are the sure attendants on those whose characters are the reverse. To persuade mankind that virtue is its own reward, is a task, I fear, of too much difficulty: but that real and undisturbed pleasures necessarily flow from probity, justice, and whatever else is fair and beautiful in moral actions, is a truth, surely, of most easy admission. Epicurus himself, from whom the Catii, and the Amafinii, together with the rest of those injurious interpreters of his meaning, pretend to derive their tenets, expressly declares, that "a pleasurable life can alone be procured by the
" practice

¹ See rem. 3 on letter 20. of this book.

“practice of virtue.” Accordingly Pansa, who pursues pleasure agreeably to this just notion of it, still perseveres, you see, in a virtuous conduct. The truth is, those whom your sect has stigmatized by the name of *voluptuaries*, are warm admirers of moral beauty; and consequently cultivate and practise the whole train of social duties. But commend me to the judicious Sulla: who, observing that the philosophers were divided in their opinions concerning the supreme good, left them to settle the question among themselves, whilst he turned his views to a less controverted acquisition, by purchasing every good thing that was put up to sale². I received the news of his death with much fortitude: and, indeed, Cæsar will take care that we shall not long have occasion to regret his loss; as there are numbers of equal merit whom he can *restore* to us³ in his place. Nor will Cæsar himself, I suppose, much lament this excellent customer of his, when he shall see what a worthy son he has left to succeed him.

But to turn to public affairs; let me know what is doing in Spain. It is a point, indeed,
upon

² See rem. 7. on let. 18. of this book.

³ This alludes to the great number of those whom Cæsar, as soon as he got the power into his hands, had permitted to return from the banishment to which they had for various crimes been condemned.

upon which I am extremely solicitous: as I had much rather submit to an old master, whose clemency I have experienced, than run the hazard of being exposed to the cruelty of a new one. You know the weakness of young Pompey's intellects; that he looks upon cruelty as heroism; and that he is sensible how much he has ever been the object of our ridicule. I fear, therefore, he would be apt to treat us somewhat roughly, and return our jokes with the point of his sword. If you have any value for me, then, you will not fail to let me know whatever shall happen. Ah, my friend, how do I wish I were apprised whether you read this with an easy or an anxious mind! for, by that single circumstance, I should be determined what measures are proper for me to pursue. But not to detain you any longer, I will only entreat you to continue your friendship to me, and then bid you Farewel.

P. S.

If Cæsar should prove victorious, you may expect to see me very soon.

LETTER

LETTER XXIII.

[A. U. 708.]

TO DOLABELLA.

Caius Suberinus, a native of⁴ Calenum, is one with whom I am particularly united; and he is extremely so, likewise, with our very intimate friend Lepta. This person, in order to avoid being engaged in our intestine commotions, attended Marcus Varro into Spain⁵, before the civil war broke out: imagining, as, indeed, every body else did, that after the defeat of Afranius⁶, there would be no farther disturbances in that province. However, he was by that very measure, involved in those misfortunes he had taken so much pains to escape. For the sudden insurrection which was formed by Scapula, and afterwards raised to so formidable an height by young Pompey, forced him unwillingly to take a part in that unhappy enterprize. The case of Marcus Planius likewise, who is also in the number of Lepta's particular friends, is much the same with that of Suberinus.

* A city of Campania, in the kingdom of Naples.

⁵ See rem. 6. p. 213. of this vol.

⁶ He was one of Pompey's lieutenants in Spain, in the year 704, in conjunction with Varro and Petreius. Cæsar's victory over these generals has already been occasionally mentioned in the preceding remarks.

nus. In compliance with my friendship, therefore, for these two persons, and in compassion to their misfortunes, I recommend them with all possible warmth and earnestness to your favour. But I have still another motive which engages me in their cause : Lepta interests himself no less ardently in their welfare, than if his own were at stake ; and I cannot but feel the next, I might have said an equal, degree of solicitude, where my friend is so anxiously concerned. Accordingly, though I have often had occasion to experience your affection ; yet, believe me, I shall principally judge of its strength by your compliance with my present request. I desire, therefore, or, if you will suffer me to employ so humble a phrase, I even beseech you, to afford your protection to these unhappy men, whose distress arises rather from unavoidable fortune, than from any thing blame-worthy in their own conduct. I hope, that by your good offices in this affair, you will give me an opportunity of obliging, not only these my friends, but the corporation of Calenum likewise, with which I have great connexions : but, above all, that you will, by these means, put it in my power to render a grateful service also to Lepta. What I am going to add, is not extremely material, I believe, to the
cause

cause I am pleading : however, it certainly can do it no prejudice. Let me assure you then, that one of these unfortunate persons is in very low circumstances, and the other has scarcely sufficient to entitle him to be admitted into the equestrian order⁷. As Cæsar, therefore, has generously spared their lives, and they have little else to lose, I entreat you, by all your affection towards me, to procure them the liberty of returning into Italy. The journey, indeed, is long : however, they are willing to undergo it, for the sake of living and dying among their friends and countrymen. I most earnestly request, therefore, your zealous endeavours for this purpose : or rather, indeed, (since I am persuaded it is entirely in your power) I warmly entreat you to obtain for them this desirable privilege. Farewel.

LETTER

⁷ The estate necessary to qualify a man for being received into the equestrian order was four hundred thousand sesterces : equivalent to about 3000l. sterling. Cicero artfully mentions the slender fortunes of his friends, as an intimation to Dolabella not to expect any *douceurs* for his good offices towards them.

LETTER XXIV.

[A. U. 708.]

TO CÆSAR.

I VERY particularly recommend to your favour the son of our worthy and common friend Præcilius, a youth whose modest and polite behaviour, together with his singular attachment to myself, have exceedingly endeared him to me. His father, likewise, as experience has now fully convinced me, was always my most sincere well-wisher. For, to confess the truth, he was the first and most zealous of those who used both to rally and reproach me for not joining in your cause, especially after you had invited me by so many honourable overtures. But,

*All unavailing prov'd his every art,
To shake the purpose of my stedfast heart⁸.*

For whilst the gallant chiefs of our party were on the other side perpetually exclaiming to me,

*“ Rise thou, distinguish'd 'midst the sons of fame,
“ And fair transmit to times unborn thy name⁹ ;”
Too easy dupe of Flattery's specious voice,
Darkling I stray'd from Wisdom's better choice¹⁰.*

And

⁸ Hom. Odyss. vii. 258.

⁹ Hom. Odyss. i. 302.

¹⁰ Hom. Odyss. xxiv. 314.

And fain would they still raise my spirits,
while they endeavour, insensible as I now am
to the charms of glory, to re-kindle that passion
in my heart. With this view they are ever re-
peating,

*O let me not inglorious sink in death,
And yield like vulgar souls my parting breath :
In some brave effort give me to expire,
That distant ages may the deed admire¹ !*

But I am immoveable, as you see, by all their
persuasions. Renouncing, therefore, the pom-
pous heroics of Homer, I turn to the just max-
ims of Euripides, and say with that poet,

*Curse on the sage, who, impotently wise,
O'erlooks the paths where humbler Prudence lies.*

My old friend Præcilius is a great admirer of
the sentiment in these lines : insisting that a
patriot may preserve a prudential regard to his
own safety, and yet,

Above his peers the first in honour shine²

But to return from this digression : you will
greatly oblige me by extending to this young
man that uncommon generosity which so pecu-
liarly marks your character, and by suffering
my recommendation to increase the number of
these favours which I am persuaded you are
disposed

¹ Hom. Il. xxii.

² Hom. Il. vi. 208.

disposed to confer upon him for the sake of his family.

I have not addressed you in the usual style of recommendatory letters, that you might see I did not intend this as an application of common form. Farewel.

LETTER XXV.

[A. U. 708.]

To the same.

AMONGST all our young nobility, Publius Crassus³ was one for whom I entertained the highest regard, and, indeed, he amply justified, in his more mature years, the favourable opinion I had conceived of him from his infancy. It was during his life that his freedman Apollonius first recommended himself to my esteem. For he was zealously attached to the interest of his patron, and perfectly well qualified to assist him in those noble studies to which he was devoted. Accordingly, Crassus was extremely fond of him. But Apollonius, after the death of his patron, proved himself still more worthy of my protection and friendship, as he distinguished with peculiar marks of respect, all who loved Crassus, or had been beloved by him. It was this that induced Apollonius to follow me into

Cilicia :

³ See rem. 3. p. 132. vol. i.

Cilicia, where, upon many occasions, I received singular advantage from his faithful and judicious services. If I mistake not, his most sincere and zealous offices were not wanting to you likewise in the Alexandrine war, and it is in the hope of your thinking so, that he has resolved, in concurrence with my sentiments, but chiefly, indeed, from his own, to wait upon you in Spain. I would not promise, however, to recommend him to your favour. Not that I suspected my applications would be void of weight, but I thought they would be unnecessary in behalf of a man who had served in the army under you, and whom, from your regard to the memory of Crassus, you would undoubtedly consider as a friend of your own. Besides, I knew he could easily procure letters of this kind from many other hands. But, as he greatly values my good opinion, and as I am sensible it has some influence upon yours, I very willingly give him my testimonial. Let me assure you, then, that I know him to be a man of literature, and one who has applied himself to the polite arts from his earliest youth. For when he was a boy, he frequently visited at my house with Diodotus, the Stoic: a philosopher, in my judgment, of consummate erudition. Apollonius, inflamed with zeal for the

glory of your actions, is greatly desirous of recording them in Greek, and I think him very capable of the undertaking. He has an excellent genius, and has been particularly conversant in studies of the historical kind, as he is wonderfully ambitious, likewise, of doing justice to your immortal fame. These are my sincere sentiments of the man; but how far he deserves them, your own superior judgment will best determine. But though I told Apollonius that I should not particularly recommend him to your favour, yet I cannot forbear assuring you, that every instance of your generosity towards him will extremely oblige me. Farewel.

LETTER XXVI.

[A. U. 708.]

QUINTUS CICERO, to MARCUS CICERO⁴.

I PROTEST to you, my dear brother, you have performed an act extremely agreeable to me, in giving Tiro his freedom; as a state of servitude was a situation far unworthy of his merit.--- Believe me, I felt the highest complacency, when I found, by his letter and yours, that you rather chose we should look upon him in the number of our friends, than in that of our slaves; and I both congratulate and thank you
for

⁴ The date of this letter is altogether uncertain.

for this instance of your generosity towards him. If I receive so much satisfaction from the services of my freedman, Statius, how much more valuable must the same good qualities appear in Tiro, as they have the additional advantages of his learning, his wit, and his politeness to recommend them? I have many powerful motives for the affection I bear you; and this mark of your beneficence to Tiro, together with your giving me part (as, indeed, you had reason) in the family joy upon this occasion, still increases the number. In a word, I saw and admired all the amiable qualities of your heart, in the letter you wrote to me on this subject.

I have promised my best services to the slaves of Sabinus; and it is a promise I will most assuredly make good. Farewel.

LETTER XXVII.

[A. U. 708.]

TO REX⁵.

LICINIUS ARISTOTELES, a native of Melita⁶, is not only my old host, but my very particular friend. These are circumstances, I doubt not, that will sufficiently recommend him to
your

⁵ He was at this time proprætor of Sicily. *Pigh. Annal.* ii. 459.

⁶ The island of Malta.

your favour; as, in truth, I have experienced, by many instances, that my applications of this sort have always much weight with you. Cæsar, in compliance with my solicitations, has granted him a pardon; for I should have told you, that he was deeply engaged in the same cause with myself. He persevered in it, indeed, much longer; which, I am persuaded, will recommend him so much the more to your esteem. Let me entreat you, then, to shew him by your good offices, that this letter proved greatly to his advantage. Farewel.

AN

AN INDEX,

*Referring to the order in which the Letters
of this Volume stand in the
Edition of Grævius.*

BOOK VI.

	<i>Lib.</i>	<i>Ep.</i>
Letter I.	— iii. —	10
II.	— ix. —	25
III.	— ii. —	19
IV.	— ii. —	12
V.	— iii. —	11
VI.	— viii. —	11
VII.	— ii. —	17
VIII.	— viii. —	13
IX.	— iii. —	12
X.	— xv. —	6
XI.	— xv. —	11
XII.	— iii. —	13
XIII.	— ii. —	15
XIV.	— viii. —	12
XV.	— viii. —	14
XVI.	— xiv. —	5
XVII.	— xvi. —	1
XVIII.	— xvi. —	2
XIX.	— xvi. —	3
XX.	— xvi. —	4
XXI.	— xvi. —	5
XXII.	— xvi. —	6
XXIII.	— xvi. —	7
XXIV.	— xvi. —	9

BOOK VII.

Letter I.	— xvi. —	11
II.	— v. —	20
III.	— xiv. —	14
IV.	— xiv. —	18

BOOK VII.

	<i>Lib.</i>	<i>Ep.</i>
V.	— xvi. —	12
VI.	— xvi. —	8
VII.	— viii. —	15
VIII.	— xvi. —	13
IX.	— xvi. —	14
X.	— xvi. —	15
XI.	— xvi. —	26
XII.	— iv. —	1
XIII.	— viii. —	16
XIV.	— ii. —	16
XV.	— iv. —	2
XVI.	— v. —	19
XVII.	— xiv. —	7
XVIII.	— viii. —	17
XIX.	— ix. —	9
XX.	— xiv. —	8
XXI.	— xiv. —	21
XXII.	— xiv. —	6
XXIII.	— xiv. —	12
XXIV.	— xiv. —	19
XXV.	— xiv. —	9
XXVI.	— xiv. —	17
XXVII.	— v. —	16
XXVIII.	— xiv. —	16
XXIX.	— xiii. —	30
XXX.	— xiv. —	11
XXXI.	— xiv. —	15
XXXII.	— xiii. —	31
XXXIII.	— xiv. —	10
XXXIV.	— xiv. —	13
XXXV.	— xiii. —	32

Book

INDEX

Book VII.

<i>Lib.</i>	<i>Ep.</i>
XXXVI.—	xv. — 15
XXXVII.—	xiii. — 33
XXXVIII.—	xiv. — 24
XXXIX.—	xiv. — 23
XL.—	xiii. — 34
XLI.—	xiv. — 22
XLII.—	xiv. — 20
XLIII.—	xiii. — 35
XLIV.—	xv. — 21
XLV.—	xiii. — 36
XLVI.—	xiii. — 48
XLVII.—	xiii. — 37
XLVIII.—	xiii. — 38
XLIX.—	ix. — 21
L.—	xiii. — 39

Book VIII.

Letter I. —	vii. — 3
II. —	iv. — 14
III. —	vi. — 21
IV. —	ix. — 1
V. —	vi. — 20
VI. —	vi. — 22
VII. —	iv. — 5
VIII. —	xiii. — 29
IX. —	xiii. — 78
X. —	v. — 21
XI. —	xiii. — 79
XII. —	ix. — 3
XIII. —	ix. — 2
XIV. —	ix. — 4
XV. —	xiii. — 45
XVI. —	ix. — 5
XVII. —	ix. — 7
XVIII. —	xiii. — 46
XIX. —	ix. — 6
XX. —	ix. — 16
XXI. —	vii. — 33
XXII. —	ix. — 18
XXIII. —	ix. — 19

Book VIII.

<i>Lib.</i>	<i>Ep.</i>
XXIV. —	ix. — 17
XXV. —	ix. — 20
XXVI. —	ix. — 23
XXVII. —	vii. — 4

Book IX.

Letter I. —	iv. — 3
II. —	xiii. — 68
III. —	iv. — 13
IV. —	iv. — 7
V. —	vi. — 10
VI. —	vii. — 27
VII. —	xiii. — 67
VIII. —	vi. — 10
IX. —	xiii. — 43
X. —	iv. — 8
XI. —	ix. — 15
XII. —	vi. — 12
XIII. —	xiii. — 10
XIV. —	vi. — 13
XV. —	xiii. — 11
XVI. —	xiii. — 12
XVII. —	iv. — 4
XVIII. —	xiii. — 13
XIX. —	iv. — 9
XX. —	iv. — 2
XXI. —	xiii. — 14
XXII. —	ix. — 26
XXIII. —	vi. — 12
XXIV. —	xiii. — 71
XXV. —	vii. — 28
XXVI. —	vi. — 14
XXVII. —	xiii. — 72
XXVIII. —	vi. — 8
XXIX. —	vi. — 9
XXX. —	vi. — 7
XXXI. —	xiii. — 69
XXXII. —	vi. — 5
XXXIII. —	xiii. — 70
XXXIV. —	vi. — 6

Book

INDEX.

Book IX.

	<i>Lib.</i>	<i>Ep.</i>
XXXV.	— xiii. —	66
XXXVI.	— xiii. —	77
XXXVII.	— xiii. —	45

Book X.

Letter I.	— vi. —	1
II.	— xiii. —	17
III.	— vi. —	3
IV.	— xiii. —	18
V.	— xiii. —	19
VI.	— xiii. —	20
VII.	— xiii. —	21
VIII.	— xiii. —	22
IX.	— xiii. —	23
X.	— xiii. —	24
XI.	— xiii. —	25

Book X.

	<i>Lib.</i>	<i>Ep.</i>
XII.	— xiii. —	26
XIII.	— xiii. —	27
XIV.	— xiii. —	28
XV.	— vi. —	18
XVI.	— vi. —	4
XVII.	— xv. —	18
XVIII.	— ix. —	10
XIX.	— vi. —	2
XX.	— xv. —	17
XXI.	— xv. —	16
XXII.	— xv. —	19
XXIII.	— ix. —	13
XXIV.	— xiii. —	15
XXV.	— xiii. —	16
XXVI.	— xvi. —	16
XXVII.	— xiii. —	52

THE END OF THE SECOND VOLUME.

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